National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXVI. NO. 1. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1865. WHOLE NO. 1,301.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT $3 00 PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

5 South-Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

LETTERS should be addressed to OLIVER JOHNSON, *Editor The Anti-Slavery Standard*, 48 Beekman-st., New York.

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Remarks at the Funeral Services of the President, in Concord, Mass., April 19, 1865.

BY R. W. EMERSON.

From the Commonwealth.

WE meet under the gloom of a calamity which darkens down over the minds of good men in all civil society, as the fearful tidings travel over sea, over land, from country to country, like the shadow of an uncalculated eclipse over the planet. Old as history is, and manifold as are its tragedies, I doubt if any death has caused as much pain to mankind as this has caused, or will cause, on its announcement; and this, not so much because nations are by modern arts brought so closely together, as because of the mysterious hopes and fears which, in the present day, are connected with the name and institutions of America.

In this country, on Saturday, every one was struck dumb, and saw, at first, only deep below deep, as he meditated on the ghastly blow. And, perhaps, at this hour, when the coffin which contains the dust of the President sets forward on its long march through mourning States, on its way to his home in Illinois, we might well be silent, and suffer the awful voices of the time to thunder to us. Yes, but that first despair was brief: the man was not so to be mourned. He was the most active and hopeful of men; and his work had not perished; but acclamations of praise for the task he had accomplished burst out into a song of triumph, which even tears for his death cannot keep down.

The President stood before us a man of the people. He was thoroughly American, had never crossed the sea, had never been spoiled by English insularity, or French dissipation; a quite native, aboriginal man, as an acorn from the oak; no aping of foreigners, no frivolous accomplishments, Kentuckian born, working on a farm, a flatboatman, a Captain in the Blackhawk war, a country lawyer, a representative in the rural Legislature of Illinois—on such modest foundations the broad structure of his fame was laid. How slowly, and yet by happily prepared steps, he came to his place. All of us remember—it is only a history of five or six years—the surprise and the disappointment of the country at his first nomination by the Convention at Chicago. Mr. Seward, then in the culmination of his good fame, was the favorite of the Eastern States. And when the new and comparatively unknown name of Lincoln was announced (notwithstanding the report of the acclamations of that Convention), we heard the result coldly and sadly. It seemed too rash, on a purely local reputation, to build so grave a trust, in such anxious times; and men naturally talked of the chances in politics as incalculable. But it turned out not to be chance. The profound good opinion which the people of Illinois and of the West had conceived of him, and which they had imparted to their colleagues, that they also might justify themselves to their constituents at home, was not rash, though they did not begin to know the riches of his worth.

A plain man of the people, an extraordinary fortune attended him. Lord Bacon says, "Manifest virtues procure reputation; occult ones, fortune." He offered no shining qualities at the first encounter; he did not offend by superiority. He had a face and manner which disarmed suspicion, which inspired confidence, which confirmed good-will. He was a man without vices. He had a strong sense of duty, which it was very easy for him to obey. Then, he had what farmers call a long head; was excellent in working out the sum for himself; in arguing his case and convincing you fairly and firmly. Then, it turned out that he was a great worker; had prodigious faculty of performance; worked easily. A good worker is so rare; everybody has some disabling quality. In a host of young men that start together, and promise so many brilliant leaders for the next age, each one fails on trial; one by bad health, one by conceit, or by love of pleasure, or lethargy, or an ugly temper—each has some disqualifying fault that throws him out of the career. But this man was sound to the core, cheerful, persistent, all right for labor, and liked nothing so well.

Then, he had a vast good-nature, which made him tolerant and accessible to all; fair-minded, leaning to the claim of the petitioner; affable, and not sensible to the affliction which the innumerable visits paid to him, when President, would have brought to any one else. And how this good-nature became a noble humanity, in many a tragic case which the events of the war brought to him, every one will remember; and with what increasing tenderness he dealt, when a whole race was thrown on his compassion. The poor negro said of him, on an impressive occasion, "Massa Linkum am eberywhere."

Then his broad good-humor, running easily into jocular talk, in which he delighted and in which he excelled, was a rich gift to this wise man. It enabled him to keep his secret; to meet every kind of man and every rank in society; to take off the edge of the severest decisions; to mask his own purpose, and sound his companion; and to catch with true instinct the temper of every company he addressed. And, more than all, it is to a man of severe labor, in anxious and exhausting crises, the natural restorative, good as sleep, and is the protection of the overdriven brain against rancor and insanity.

He is the author of a multitude of good sayings, so disguised as pleasantries that it is certain they had no reputation at first but as jests; and only later, by the very acceptance and adoption they find in the mouths of millions, turn out to be the wisdom of the hour. I am sure if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a very few years, like Æsop or Pilpay, or one of the Seven Wise Masters, by his fables and proverbs. But the weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined hereafter to wide fame. What pregnant definitions; what unerring commonsense; what foresight; and, on great occasions, what lofty, and more than national, what humane tone! His brief speech at Gettysburg will not easily be surpassed by words on any recorded occasion. This, and one other American speech, that of John Brown to the court that tried him, and a part of Kossuth's speech at Birmingham, can only be compared with each other, and with no fourth.

His occupying the chair of State was a triumph of the good sense of mankind, and of the public conscience. This middle-class country had got a middle-class President, at last. Yes, in manners and sympathies, but not in powers, for his powers were superior. This man grew according to the need. His mind mastered the problem of the day; and, as the problem grew, so did his comprehension of it. Rarely was man so fitted to the event. In the midst of fears and jealousies, in the Babel of counsels and parties, this man wrought incessantly with all his might and all his honesty, laboring to find what the people wanted, and how to obtain that. It cannot be said there is any exaggeration of his worth. If ever a man was fairly tested, he was. There was no lack of resistance, nor of slander, nor of ridicule. The times have allowed no State secrets; the nation has been in such ferment, such multitudes had to be trusted, that no secret could be kept. Every door was ajar, and we know all that befel.

Then, what an occasion was the whirlwind of the war. Here was place for no holiday magistrate, no fair-weather sailor; the new pilot was hurried to the helm in a tornado. In four years—four years of battle-days—his endurance, his fertility of resources, his magnanimity, were sorely tried and never found wanting. There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the centre of a heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step he walked before them; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs; the true representative of this continent; an entirely public man; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue.

Adam Smith remarks that the axe, which in Houbraken's portraits of British kings and worthies, is engraved under those who have suffered at the block, adds a certain lofty charm to the picture. And who does not see, even in this tragedy so recent, how fast the terror and ruin of the massacre are already burning into glory around the victim? Far happier this fate than to have lived to be wished away; to have watched the decay of his own faculties; to have seen—perhaps, even he—the proverbial ingratitude of statesmen; to have seen mean men preferred. Had he not lived long enough to keep the greatest promise that ever man made to his fellow-men—the practical abolition of slavery? He had seen Tennessee, Missouri and Maryland emancipate their slaves. He had seen Savannah, Charleston and Richmond surrendered; had seen the main army of the rebellion lay down its arms. He had conquered the public opinion of Canada, England and France. Only Washington can compare with him in fortune.

And what if it should turn out, in the unfolding the web, that he had reached the term; that this heroic deliverer could not longer serve us; that the rebellion had touched its natural conclusion, and what remained to be done required new and uncommitted hands—a new spirit born out of the ashes of the war; and that Heaven, wishing to show the world a completed benefactor, shall make him serve his country even more by his death than by his life. Nations, like kings, are not good by facility and complaisance. "The kindness of kings consists in justice and strength." Easy good-nature has been the dangerous foible of the Republic, and it was necessary that its enemies should outrage it, and drive us to unwonted firmness, to secure the salvation of this country in the next ages.

The ancients believed in a serene and beautiful Genius which ruled in the affairs of nations; which, with a slow but stern justice, carried forward the fortunes of certain chosen houses, weeding out single offenders, or offending families, and securing at last the firm prosperity of the favorites of Heaven. It was too narrow a view of the Eternal Nemesis. There is a serene Providence which rules the fate of nations, which makes little account of time, little of one generation or race, makes no account of disasters, conquers alike by what is called defeat or by what is called victory, thrusts aside enemy and obstruction, crushes everything immoral as inhuman, and obtains the ultimate triumph of the best race by the sacrifice of everything which resists the moral laws of the world. It makes its own instruments, creates the man for the time, trains him in poverty, inspires his genius, and arms him for his task. It has given every race its own talent, and ordains that only that race which combines perfectly with the virtues of all shall endure.

THE QUESTION OF THE DAY.

GEN. BUTLER'S SPEECH BEFORE THE LOYAL LEAGUE CLUB.

From the New York Times, May 1.

GEN. BUTLER was the guest of the Loyal League Club at its meeting last evening. The Chairman, Mr. John Jay, in introducing him, made the following remarks:

MR. JAY'S REMARKS.

We have the honor to meet here to-night, gentlemen, a distinguished officer of the United States Army. The first to point out, at the opening of the war, how the negro should be treated; he showed the country, to its immense satisfaction, how the rebels should be treated during the war; and certainly no one has a better right to express his views as to how that class of our fellow-citizens should be treated now that hostilities have ceased. This Club is a private social body, its members bound together by a single principle, devoted loyalty to the government, the only grand principle that we have yet adopted. We have not yet agreed upon any general view of the policy to be pursued in dealing with rebels; of the great question of reconstruction; nor of any of the various questions growing out of the conclusion of the war; and perhaps we are not yet ready to adopt unanimously any policy upon these questions; but we are ready—I take it we are always ready—to listen with becoming deference to the views of a gentleman so eminent and distinguished as he who is our guest to-night (applause).

Gen. Butler then addressed the Club as follows:

GEN. BUTLER'S SPEECH.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: First thanking you, sir, for the kind terms in which you have presented me to this meeting, let me congratulate you and all here present upon the fact that after four years of effort, toil, expenditure, as well of treasure as of blood, all armed resistance to the government has been brought to an end. Among the returning blessings which will follow from this consummation, not the least will be the arrival of the period when all abnormal administration of law and exercise of authority and power can and will cease; the reason for, cause and object of extraordinary uses of Executive functions which we have all upheld, because necessary war powers in the struggle for the nation ceasing, they also cease; and we of the loyal States come back once more to that regularity and safety of exercise of governmental powers which our fathers with so much care provided as safeguards to the rights of all. But there is a portion of our country in which all those safeguards are broken down; where all law that we can recognize has been disregarded; and where the withdrawal of our armed forces would leave only anarchy, aggravated by hostility to the government. I propose, with your permission, in a conversational form, to evolve for consideration a few propositions relating to the questions which now press home upon us, as to the manner in which we shall receive back the rebellious States, or, avoiding all controversy upon terms merely, as to whether they are in or out of the Union; to use the language of our lamented President, "how these States can be brought into their practical relations with the government." I need not say that the thoughts which have been subjects of my reflections upon this topic are only the speculations of a citizen whose mind has been turned for some time in this direction, attracted thereto and enlightened by the success of the bold original action of President Johnson in bringing Tennessee, as a loyal State, into the Union, by the votes of those only who had ever remained loyal, in heart, and rejecting all those who had participated in the rebellion. This perhaps is the key to the whole difficulty. In April 1863, I had the honor to express to the citizens of New York, at the Academy of Music, the opinion that the people of the rebellious States were in the legal relation to the government of *alien enemies*. This proposition has been since confirmed by the repeated solemn decisions of the Supreme Court. By what process, then, are these public enemies of the United States, living under political organizations, as State governments hostile to the Union, their forces just now shattered and broken by our victories, to be brought into political relations with us and become endowed, as well, with the privilege of legislating for themselves, as a part of the government, as also to make laws for us who have just subdued the rebellion by the sword. It is quite clear that until some means are devised to enable the Southern people to govern themselves in the Union, disorder must be repressed, peace preserved, crimes punished, and the industrious and well-doing protected by the military powers of the United States. It would seem to be the part of wisdom to ascertain, first, whether any of the inhabitants of these States, and how many, are really desirous of coming back and becoming a part of the government with the political ideas, affinities, unity of thought, with the loyal States, which can alone insure their usefulness and homogeniety as parts of the body politic. Would it not be well, then, that Military Governors appointed for each State, who it would seem should be selected as much for their knowledge of civil affairs as of "army regulations," if satisfied that any considerable number of the inhabitants of his district were truly loyal and desirous of bringing their State into the Union should call upon the loyal citizens of the United States residing therein who had never held office during the rebellion, to vote upon the question whether the people desired to resume their relations with the United States as a loyal State and for that end would provide and declare in their State Constitution: First, That hereafter forever there should be neither slavery or involuntary servitude except for crime judicially declared. Second, That there cannot exist in the political system of the United States any such thing as a right of secession by a State. Third, That no person, corporation, municipal or other, or State, could or might ever assume or pay any part of the debt or claim by any person or corporation, State or Confederation of States, incurred or in any way arising from or in aid of the late rebellion. Fourth, That any person who had held military, civil or diplomatic office, under the so-called Confederate States, or either of them, or been any agent thereof during the rebellion, should have no political rights in the State, but should be and remain alien thereunto for ever. If the people of the State should by a good degree of unanimity vote to call a convention to make these or like propositions a part of their constitutional law, then a meeting for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention could be called, a constitution framed and submitted to the people for ratification. Such a vote upon such propositions would be conclusive evidence that the people of such State were truly loyal, and in accordance with those ideas which control the loyal mind of the other States, and by which the future of the country is to be governed. If no considerable number voted upon these questions, or they failed to command the assent of a large portion of the people, this would also seem to be conclusive evidence that, within that military district, either the spirit of the rebellion had not been subdued, although its physical force might be broken, or that the community was not in a condition to resume its "practical relations" as a State of the Union, and I would hold it under military rule as belligerent until the influx of Northern enterprise, capital and sentiment, brought in by our brave soldiers coming there to settle, and by our school teachers educating the colored citizens of the United States therein dwelling, had so far changed the feelings of a majority of the people of such State that it was in fit condition to become a State of this Union, whether the time needed for this purpose was one year or a century. If, however, a Constitution should be adopted containing the provisions above suggested, then—the State being organized—all military rule should be withdrawn, as soon as the State government should show it was able to preserve the peace, and protect all citizens of the United States in its borders in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The State could then elect its members to either house of Congress, to be admitted or rejected, as either in its wisdom might determine. But no such election of members of Congress ought to take place until all military rule had been withdrawn, because there can be no greater wrong to the fundamental principles of our government than the election of members of either House of Congress under the overshadowing power of the President, specially when exerted in the military form. Such elections abolish all distinctions between, and independence of, the Legislative and Executive departments of the government, and tend to a consolidation of power quite as much to be guarded against as secession. I am one of those old-fashioned Democrats who do not believe that the Executive has any part or lot in the fraternal relations of the several States to each other and to the Union, other than that which the President exercises as a part of the law-making power. The theory of State rights has been in such bad company of late, and has been so mangled and misrepresented as an apology for secession, that there is danger that the Hamiltonian theory of federated powers may be carried too far, and we may leave the States without any rights all. Indeed, it would seem that the relation of the States to the General government might be adjusted by a single consideration. All sovereignty resides in the people. For the management of their domestic concerns the people have chosen the agency of a *State*. For the management of their national and foreign affairs they have chosen the Federal government. In all that relates to the former the State is the supreme agent. In all that relates to the latter, and the connections of the States to each other, and to the National government, that is supreme. There would seem, therefore, to be no necessity for any clashing between these two agencies of the people. Meanwhile, in such military districts as are composed within the boundaries of States the Military Governor should be charged with the economical administration of an executive government which should insure the safety of life and property, taxing the inhabitants of such districts for the costs of each government, so that by contumacy and obstinate adherence to the spirit of treason the State should not tax the treasuries of the loyal States for the expenses of their military governments. The material resources of the State should be developed, its means of communication with other States and parts of itself fostered, so as to afford the fullest opportunity for emigration. Perhaps some may think I have laid too much stress upon the several propositions which are laid down as conditions precedent to the action which should bring back a revolted State. I would have them put nakedly to the people of the State before any election of officers was called, because I would eliminate all the elements of personal difference as to the rulers from the adoption of principles of government. I would first present the principles: these being determined, then the questions of men could be discussed. Upon the first proposition that I would require to be submitted to the people of each rebellious State before it can ask to come back into relations with the loyal States, to wit: the abolition of slavery, there certainly can be but one mind at the North. The second, that there can be no right of secession, is necessary to be declared as a part of the fundamental law, because for more than thirty years the people of the South have been taught by their leaders that such a right does exist, so that many good and true men have been led away by this heresy into a rebellion, from which they would otherwise have shrunk. Let the maxim, "There are no rights of secession," therefore, hereafter stand as the corner-stone of the frame of government of each revolted State; they owe so much to the sacrifices of the loyal States for the Union.

The third proposition, that the Confederate debt shall never be recognized, is necessary as a preventive of a grievous wrong. The loyal States of the North, New York for example, in addition to its share of the burthen of the national debt, is burthened with many millions of State debt, all contracted in defence of the country and in subduing the rebellion. The Southern States, when they return to their practical relations with the government, will come back wholly free from this class of debt with which New York is burthened. Their debt, if any, wil have been contracted in fighting against the Union and not in restoring it, and of course will be at first repudiated. But in time, when, as is just, New York and the other loyal States call upon the General government to assume this debt, contracted in its own defence, such demand will be opposed by the Southern States which have no such debt, or will be encumbered by the proposition to assume for the South some part of the Confederate debt, and such will be the power of the pressure upon Congress of the immense amount of the consolidated debt, unjust and iniquitous as it would be for the nation to assume it, I should fear for the result. Therefore, I would have it as a part of the fundamental law of each State that no part of such debt should ever be assumed or paid by the State, or any portion thereof. The assumption of such debt by the General government is a subject so fraught with danger, so aided by the influence of money, that I would employ every means to keep it from the national councils. The necessity of the fourth proposed amendment to the Constitution of the several States, that no rebel officer should vote or hold office, is obvious from these considerations. This rebellion was largely set on foot because political power was departing from the South and traveling Northward. To regain that power, which their enterprise, wealth and consequent increase of population brought to the North, the leaders at the South plunged the nation into this horrid war. Shall we not, therefore, teach coming generations by living examples that political power is not gained but irretrievably lost by rebellion against the United States? Besides, the common mind at the South has been heretofore so much controlled by the leading men that such deprivation of political power is absolutely necessary to deprive the leading class there of that influence over the Southern thought, which has heretofore been and will hereafter be exerted against the Union. Being a Democrat I would break down the landholding and slaveholding aristocracy of the South which has brought so much of evil upon us. Is not the deprivation of political rights the appropriate and mildest form of punishment of treason? Is this not a necessary measure of precaution against future evils? For these reasons, therefore, which I have scarcely more than hinted at, I would insist, before any measures should be taken to bring back a revolted State, that the inhabitants in their primary and fundamental law as a part of the frame of government, should solemnly provide that there should be neither slavery or secession in their State, and that rebel debts and rebel votes should be alike repudiated. Thanking you for the patience with which you have listened to me, I shall be more than repaid if by these remarks I have brought before your minds for consideration any of the momentous questions involved in the reconstruction of the rebel States.

SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE.

HDQRS. DEPARTMENT OF KENTUCKY,
OFFICE OF ORGANIZATION U. S. TROOPS,
LOUISVILLE, Ky., April 20, 1865.

To His Excellency THOMAS E. BRAMLETTE, *Governor of Kentucky.*

SIR: I write to call your attention to the disturbed condition of labor in Kentucky—the confusion produced by the nominal freedom of slaves, and the evils growing out of such freedom, while unsanctioned by State legislation. The master can no longer hold his slaves, or depend on their labor for a single day, so that producers cannot calculate their crops or pursue agriculture with any degree of certainty. Having become restless and dissatisfied, the slaves leave their homes, and setting their faces toward Louisville, journey for days over long miles to these headquarters, as the Mecca where freedom may be found, when that freedom should reach them in their homes, and they not forced to become outcasts and wanderers in order to enjoy it. Our cities and towns throughout the State are crowded to excess with these refugees from labor, and hundreds are daily arriving to swell the throng.

The people being unable to feed the large surplus population suddenly thrown upon them, want and suffering has already begun, and demoralization and crime will follow as natural consequences. The government, our ministers and the Christian people are doing all they can, but it is not in their power wholly to meet the public wants in this respect. It is for you, Governor, and your Legislature to obviate the arising evils by at once passing the Constitutional Amendment, and placing the State on a new basis.

The moment you do this, you will quiet the minds of the negroes, those who have left will return, and those still at home will remain to till the soil, now so much in need of their labor. Slavery is at an end, and why deny it, or by withholding proper State legislation seek to retain longer the shadow of an institution that was always worthless?

Negro enlistment has bankrupted slavery in Kentucky, over 22,000 of the most valuable slaves having already gone into service, while the few thousands left are being rapidly gathered up by recruiting officers and put into the army. Even old men and boys are found to be fit for duty in invalid regiments, and are taken. From seventy to one hundred enlist daily, freeing under the law of March 3, 1865, an average of five women and children per man. Thus from 300 to 500 black people are daily made free through the instrumentality of the army. How long can Kentucky stand such a draft upon her slave population? To what purpose is it for the Legislature to refuse to act when the result is only a question of time? Kentucky needs what black labor she has left to till her soil, and her slaves can now be of more service to the nation in the corn-fields than in the army; but if she will not free them at home, then the army must absorb them; and if Kentucky suffers it is her own fault.

While in a state of transition the present disturbed relations of capital and labor must continue, but by freeing the slaves at one blow and getting at the bottom of the question it would end; your people could then proceed to reorganize labor upon a new basis. Clearly it is the intention and policy of this government to make every black person in it free, securing to every one their own body and their own labor, and the sooner Kentucky makes up her mind to accept the new order of things and to establish labor upon a free paid basis, the better it will be for her.

I earnestly commend this subject to your consideration, hoping that your wisdom will devise speedily some means to remedy the evils I have mentioned.

I am, sir, with sentiments of respect and esteem your obedient servant, JAS. S. BRISBIN,
Brevet Brig.-Gen. S. O. U. S. Troops.

FRANKFORT, Ky., April 22, 1865.

Brevet Brig-Gen. JAS. S. BRISBIN, *Louisville, Ky.*

GENERAL: Your communication of the 20th inst. did not reach me until the evening of the 21st.

I concur with you in the opinion that a prosperous and healthy system of regulated labor cannot be regained in Kentucky except upon a free basis. The result of rebellion has been to withdraw from slave labor all protection, and to destroy the power to protect it. The effect of rebellion has been to revolutionize the popular judgment upon the subject of slavery, and fix upon it the inexorable decree of "extermination." Were all the legitimate powers of the government now exerted to foster into vigor, instead of to destroy, it may well be questioned whether this would succeed in building it up; whether rightfully or wrongfully is needless now to inquire. Slavery is regarded by the masses as the fruitful source of all our woes, and as inimical to our future peace and unity. This revolution cannot go backward. As men of prudence and patriotism, we must accept the logic of events and recognize existing facts. That slavery must end, I accept as one of the facts ordained by this revolution, wrought out by rebellion. That it should end as speedily as possible, is a corollary which a practical wisdom and prudent common sense must deduce from the demonstration of our experiences. Our whole labor system is broken up and utterly demoralized. Slavery has become an incubus upon our energies; a burden to our advancement, and a negative to our prosperity. There is no hope of improvement under the present *régime*, nor the slightest prospect of growing better until the revolution has been fully accomplished in universal emancipation. The transition period from slave to free labor must ever be embarrassing to industry and deleterious to prosperity. It is, therefore, in my judgment, the requirement of wisdom and of a prudent regard to our best interests and highest prosperity, as well as the mandate of an exalted patriotism, that we should conform, as readily and speedily as practicable, to this decree of the revolution—foreordained by rebellion—and now sealed with the unalterable judgment of the American people. The scholium which I deduct from the logic of events is, that the proposed amendment to the Constitution is the most direct, practical and legitimate mode now left to us, to escape the present and impending evils of an interregnum in labor, a dearth in industry, and a suspension of production.

In accepting these facts and thus acting upon them, we have to give up what was to us valued at many millions of dollars, and to overcome the educated habits and prejudices fostered by our country. No easy task this! But Kentuckians have ever been equal to the occasion, and will not now fall below the measure of their fame, nor shrink from making those sacrifices which the peace and unity of their government demands of their patriotism, and thus seal forever the lofty destiny of this loved Commonwealth.

This contribution of our life-trained habits and prejudices, and surrender to the public peace of many millions of property—in excess of what any other loyal State has contributed during our struggle to maintain our national life—will give Kentucky on the historic page a just precedence in the ranks of the loyal and patriotic States. The emancipation of slaves costs our Northern brethren no sacrifice of interest, no immolation of habits, no conquest of prejudices, no disturbance of social relations, no breaking up of economical arrangements, no inconveniences or loss whatever. They can easily make the *sacrifice*, for they expend nothing. But to us it is the loss of many millions of dollars, the surrender of the trained habits and prejudices of a life, and incurs the perils, inconveniences and losses, which ever result from the sudden breaking up of long and peacefully established social and economical relations and interests. We have been much abused because we *could not see that the existence of our government depended upon either the continuance or discontinuance of slavery.* Yet we have attested our devotion to the government of the Union by furnishing more than our due proportion of soldiers to defend and maintain it.

With us, in Kentucky, the negro has never been an object of strife. The preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the government, has been and is the mainspring of our action, the substance of our loyal hopes, and the support of our patriotism. Though others were unwilling to have the Union *without* slavery, or the Union *with* slavery, we have ever been for the Union *with* or *without* slavery, and for maintaining the government over an unbroken Union, cost what it might. This has been our loyal purpose throughout this struggle. Instead of abuse from those who make no sacrifices, we deserve respect and confidence for what we have done and for what we have borne. Those who direct the powers of our government, should bear in mind that their mission is not to *destroy slavery*—for that is an accomplished fact—but to preserve and restore the government of the Union. The hand should be gentle and assisting, which is laid upon the habits and prejudices of a loyal people—not heavy and coercive. Our prejudices may be detached with a gentle hand without pain or injury; but if torn asunder with a rude hand, it will lacerate the popular mind, and pain the public heart, without benefiting freedom.

For the sake of the peaceful and kindly relations of our country, it is to be hoped that our brethren of the Northern States may more generally understand and better appreciate these facts. I am of those whose unfaltering faith is "that all things work together for good" to those who love our country, and who dare maintain our government at any peril and with every sacrifice. But those who demand most are not those who usually make the readiest sacrifices for their country's good.

I am, General, yours respectfully,
THOS. E. BRAMLETTE.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

IT is a little curious that Philadelphia should be slower to abandon her prejudices against color than New York, and that while we have months since acknowledged the right of negroes to be carried in all public conveyances, the City of Brotherly Love should still be struggling against law and gospel, resorting not unfrequently to violence, and compelling the blacks to seek the Courts for redress. The best feature of the case is that to some extent the Courts of that city dispense justice as well as law. Very recently an action was tried and decided upon facts and principles which ought to settle the question for the company concerned, if not for all companies. A colored woman entered a car and took her seat without objection, her face being covered with a vail. When her color was discovered, some less respectable passengers asked the conductor to remove her, and he betook himself first to a request, which being properly refused, was followed by a violent ejection of the woman. She thereupon brought an action, and the case coming to trial on the law and the fact, got a verdict of fifty dollars damages against the company. The sum is small, being reduced, we presume, by negro-hating jurors, who nevertheless found themselves unable to refuse giving *some* substantial verdict. They made it as little as they could, but by that very act declared more emphatically than otherwise the impossibility of denying the liability of the company.

We do not learn what action if any has been taken in consequence of this legal decision. There is a variance in the charters of the companies; one or more containing the express provision that there shall be no exclusion from cars on account of color; but we do not regard the final settlement of the question, if it goes to the higher Courts, as likely to depend on the existence or non-existence in any charter of such a stipulation. It will be found there as here that unless the charter contains an express permission to exclude colored passengers, the right to exclude cannot be legally inferred nor practically exercised—and of course no charter does contain any such clause. But why should it not, if that is to be the meaning and effect of omitting it? Why, unless that it would be putting into the statute a too plain admission and too revolting declaration of that barbarism which the companies have been seeking covertly and without law to enforce against an unpopular class?

It is urged in Philadelphia as it was urged here that public opinion demanded or at least supported the exclusion of the blacks. Were that true, so much the greater disgrace to both cities, for it would transfer the odium of a mean act from a few companies to the people at large, and the character of two cities instead of a few corporations would suffer. But it is not true. The burden of proof lies on the party making that allegation, and the proof is not forthcoming. True, there was a sham hustings in the cars, a transparently fraudulent and ridiculous pretense of voting on this question by passengers at the instigation of the companies, but those who were concerned in it were only too glad to have it forgotten—much less is it how offered in evidence of public opinion.

But Philadelphia and all other cities ought to meet this question on much broader grounds. In New York there was good prospect of a struggle that should last for years, yet when the question was agitated, when it was pressed upon the people, and almost in terms referred to the majority of voices to decide, it was decided in three months—and decided forever. It is impossible there should be any community where a greater proportion of citizens hate their black fellow-citizens than New York, but even in New York this blind prejudice could make no resistance to the conviction of the majority that the negroes had the same right as the whites—no more and no less, to those facilities of conveyance which were provided by a law that in terms drew no distinction of color. Irrational, bigoted and inveterate as is the antipathy of one class to another, let us be thankful that the principle of Democracy, of equal rights before the law, is planted still deeper in the popular heart. Fighting for four years to maintain that principle all over the continent, what a ludicrous inconsistency it is to deny it at our own doors—to permit an ignorant faction or a subservient corporation to offer the same insult to humanity which we have resented by arms when thirteen States attempted it. Let Philadelphia and every other city take the lesson to heart.—*Tribune.*

THE SLAVE TRADE ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.

THE report of Col. Ord, the commissioner appointed by the British government to inquire into the condition of the settlements on the West Coast of Africa has recently been published. The following condensation from an English journal of the principal information which it gives, will be found interesting to our readers:

"The taxation of natives, the exercise over them of British protection, the practice of entering into negotiations and engagements with them, were topics which Mr. Cardwell in his preliminary instructions indicated as demanding Col. Ord's careful consideration. The settlements reported on are—Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos, and then come some 'general observations,' in which Col. Ord considers how far the settlements attain the objects which the country has in view in maintaining them, viz., the suppression of the slave trade and the encouragement of British commerce, and how far they may be more completely attained by any improved arrangements. As regards the slave trade, it is a well-established fact that it has disappeared from the neighborhood of every spot on the West Coast which has been made a British settlement; the distance to which it has been removed depending in a great measure on the extent to which the authorities of the settlement have been able to make their influence felt. Nor need this statement be limited to British territory, the Dutch and Danish possessions on the Gold Coast, and the Republic of Liberia having been equally the means of banishing the traffic from their vicinity. It may be supposed that the presence of the squadron has had some share in producing this result, but that it is mainly due to the existence of the settlements is supported by the fact that, even in those which have been the least visited by men of war, it has been as effectually suppressed as in those which have been their most constant resort. Commerce alone is powerless to put an end to the slave trade. Lagos has for many years had a large trade carried on by British and other European merchants, yet this did not prevent it from being at the same time the headquarters of slavery in the Bights. At time the headquarters of slavery in the Bights. At time the headquarters of slavery in the Bights. At Whydah an extensive trade in palm oil has existed since 1849, and yet slaves have been regularly shipped from that port up to the present day, and, as has been already stated, a cargo was waiting embarkation there in December last. Nor is this difficult of explanation. Palm oil, which forms the principal article of trade, is collected by natives, chiefly domestic slaves, residing at or near the coast, its weight and bulk preventing it from being brought from a great distance in the country where there are no rivers; and it is evident that it would answer the chiefs better to turn their laborers to account in this way than to sell them for exportation, even were not the customs of the country entirely opposed to such a proceeding. There is nothing, however, to prevent the chiefs from purchasing, for export, any number of slaves captured in the hunts which are regularly undertaken for this purpose in certain parts of the interior, and so legitimate commerce and the slave trade may be found combined in any spot on the coast to which British authority or influence does not extend. Thus the existence of the British settlements, and of the Republic of Liberia, has served to eradicate the slave trade from all but one spot on the 1,500 miles of coast extending from the Gambia to Quittah; and the recent acquisition of Lagos may be said to have freed almost entirely from the curse the remainder of the coast; the two exceptions being the small spot between the Gambia and the Sierra Leone, the case of which has already been referred to in the report on the latter colony, and a portion of the sea coast lying between Quittah and Lagos, immediately in the rear of which are the dominions of the notorious King of Dahomey. It is well-known that from the peculiar circumstances of his country this monarch is indebted for his wealth, and the maintenance of his authority over his people, almost exclusively to the slave trade. Whydah, the chief seaport of his dominions, is, as it has always been, the principal place of export."

WHO ARE THEIR FRIENDS?

THAT portion of Maryland which lies between the Chesapeake and the Potomac southward of a line drawn due east from Washington City, is divided into the Counties of Prince George's, Charles, and St. Mary's, which are predominantly Roman Catholic in faith and were of old Federal and afterward Whig in politics, but, since slavery became the base of our current politics, have been accounted "Democratic." These counties are responsible for sending to Congress Mr. Ben. G. Harris, the gentleman so nearly expelled from the House on motion of Speaker Colfax. They have been in active and ardent sympathy with the rebellion from the outset, sending their young men in crowds to swell the rebel ranks, and keeping up a large business of blockade-running and mail-running across the Potomac between Baltimore and Richmond. The plot to assassinate President Lincoln and other chiefs of our government had here many of its ramifications; Booth had roamed over it day after day while preparing to commit his meditated crime with the least possible risk; hither he fled, with his more immediate accomplice, for shelter and succor the moment his crime was complete; and here he was hidden and nursed until he was able to make his way across the river into Virginia. And nowhere within the preponderantly loyal states was there another region half so well fitted for his purpose or so well affected toward his horrible enterprise.

The *World* has a Washington account of the assassins' conspiracy and its consummation, which incidentally and truthfully says:

"Surratsville, only ten miles from Washington, has been throughout the war a seat of conspiracy. It was like a suburb of Richmond, reaching quite up to the rival capital; and, though *the few Unionists on the peninsula* knew its reputation well enough, nothing of the sort came out until after the murder. * * * It could not but have struck Booth that this isolated part of Maryland, *ignorant and rebel to the brim*, without telegraph or railways, or direct stage-routes, belted with swamps and broken by dense timber, afforded extraordinary opportunities for shelter and escape."

—Now, let us see how "this isolated part of Maryland, ignorant and rebel to the brim," has a habit of voting:

	Free Constitution, '64.		*Pres't*, '64.		*Pres't*, '60.
			Lin-	McClel-	Lin-	All
	For.	Against.	coln.	lan.	coln.	others.
Charles	13	978	27	961	6	1191
Prince George's	149	1293	197	1550	1	1976
St. Mary's	99	1088	99	986	1	1371
Total	261	3 349	323	3 497	8	4 538
Pro-Slavery maj.		3,088,		3,174.		4,530.

—Now, then, while it is very certain that many true and loyal citizens voted for slavery and McClellan, it is just as certain and just as notorious that every sympathizer with slave holding treason, every one "ignorant and rebel to the brim," voted as did these disloyal Marylanders. What sort of an Administration to carry on a war against the rebellion could we have had, with such men as these Western Shore Marylanders for its creators and supporters, and such representatives as Ben. G. Harris to sustain it in Congress?

These questions the *World* was wont to meet with a logic composed in about equal parts of the denunciation of the queerist and screechy protestations of its own and its candidate's loyalty. Was it possible to give any more pertinent answer?—*Tribune.*

A FEW WORDS ABOUT A WORD.

From the Evening Post.

WE frequently read or hear some rebel and traitor spoken of as a gentleman—an accomplished gentleman, a chivalrous gentleman, a cultivated gentleman, or a Southern gentleman. This is done sometimes by men who use language carelessly, and do not notice its nice distinctions; sometimes, however, it is done by persons who evidently give a particular meaning to the term, of which we wish to say a few words. A gentleman is, according to some, a man pure, unselfish, faithful, sober, honest, honorable, charitable, humane; according to some others, a gentleman is a person who has received a collegiate education, and enough lessons in deportment from a dancing master to make him at ease in society. Some think of Col. Newcome as a gentleman, others of Maj. Pendennis.

Now a dispute about the definition of a word is likely to be endless. A word has the meaning which general custom assigns to it. "Clever means in one part of this country, dextrous, or skilful, in another, foolishly good-natured. So the term gentleman seems to mean with some a man of honor, and with some simply a person of smooth and polished exterior. We do not intend to quarrel with the latter, or to charge them with misusing a word; but we think it useful to point out their meaning. When they speak of the rebel leaders as gentlemen, they intend to say only that these persons have the good fortune to be decently educated and easy mannered; no more.

There is a once common phrase which will help us to point this distinction—it was a custom to speak of a man as "a gentleman and a scholar." This supposed that he might be a gentleman, and yet have small knowledge of books. So those who now term the chief rebels gentlemen evidently need some qualifying adjective to denote the real character of the person spoken of, and this ought to be added. Thus Gen. P. T. G. Beauregard should be called "a gentleman and a liar"; the Hon.

would only give him a fair chance to murder one or more of their number.

Now if any one is blamed for calling Davis, or Lee, or Beauregard, or Letcher, or Hunter, or Faulkner, or Brown, or Vance, or Harris, or Slidell, or Benjamin, a gentleman, we advise him to cite the practice of Marshal Rynders and the assassin Booth, in justification.

National Anti-Slavery Standard

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1865.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE ANNUAL NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston, at the MELODEON, on WEDNESDAY, May 31st, at 10 o'clock, a.m.

Questions of great importance and interest, in relation to the final Abolition of Slavery in the United States, will doubtless come before the Convention. All the old members of it, and all persons interested, are invited to attend.

By order of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. EDMUND QUINCY, Pres.

R. F. WALCUT, } Secretaries.
SAMUEL MAY, JR., }

THIRTY SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Reported for the Standard by J. M. W. YERRINTON.

THE AMERICAN ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY celebrated its Thirty second Anniversary by a public meeting at the Church of the Puritans, on Tuesday morning last, May 9th. There was a very large gathering of the members and friends of the Society, the church, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, being crowded beyond the capacity of its seats, many standing in the aisles during the protracted exercises. Very many of the old and long-tried friends of the slave were present, some of whom had come with the expectation that this would be the last meeting of the Society, and rejoicing that, their work consummated, they could put off their armor, furl their banners, and sing the pæans of victory.

"More than they hoped in that dark time,
When, faint with watching, few and worn,
They saw no welcome day-star climb
The cold, gray pataway of the morn."

They "see of the travail of their souls, and are satisfied." Others, if less sanguine, still not less thankful for the marvellous work already accomplished, and earnest to continue the conflict until, in fact as in law, the clank of not one chain shall vex the air of regenerated America.

On the platform were seated the President of the Society, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Hon. George Thompson, Samuel May, Jr., Rev. John T. Sargent, Robert Purvis, Thos. Garrett, J. Miller McKim, Oliver Johnson, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Stanton, and Mrs. Frances Watkins Harper.

The exercises commenced with a voluntary on the organ, which was followed by Mrs. Howe's stirring "Hymn of the Republic," to the air of the John Brown Song, in the chorus of which the audience joined, with thrilling effect. Appropriate selections of Scripture were then read by Mr. Garrison, after which prayer was offered by Rev. Samuel May, Jr. The hymn commencing—

"Watchman, tell us of the night,
What its signs of promise are,"—

was then sung by the choir, at the conclusion of which Mr. Phillips addressed the audience as follows:

Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am sorry to say that, as you perceive, I am laboring under a heavy cold, and not able to make a speech. I come upon the platform chiefly in order to redeem the pledge which the advertisement makes in announcing my name as one of the speakers at this meeting; and you will be considerate of the feeble voice in which I address you, and allow me to make, not a speech, but one or two statements, which seem to me important to be taken into consideration by Abolitionists at the present hour.

Everything on this platform is looked at in the light of the interest of the colored race. It is as Abolitionists, specially, that we meet here, and therefore the general considerations of citizenship are to be subordinated to the special duty of Abolitionists. What I say, therefore, is simply in regard to the next national step, as affecting the security of the colored man in his newly-found right. Governments are not made, they grow; and the seeds or elements out of which they derive their strength are the real guarantees of the right specially recognized in parchments and constitutions. Now, if the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution shall pass, as we confidently trust, the parchment will guarantee to the slave his liberty. Our duty to-day, it seems to me, as Americans and clear-sighted Abolitionists, is, in the re-formation of the elements of the State, to see to it that the great forces of society guarantee the right recognized by the parchment. That is the great duty which the present hour brings to us. No freedom is real, and no emancipation is effectual, unless, so far as we have the power, we arrange the forces of society, that underlie law, so that they may secure its execution. That is the text.

Now, what light do the events of the last four years throw upon it? The military chapter of the struggle is closing. What lesson does it teach us? We have tried it in two shapes; and if I take two individuals as the representatives of these two forms of war, I shall make my meaning plainer, while I do no injustice to either. The first national purpose was incarnated in the idea that the South was not angered, but misled; that she was not hostile, but simply wayward; that she loved the Union as much as we did, but merely took an odd way of showing it (laughter); that, misled and mistaken, our object was, by magnanimity and forbearance, by the exhibition of strength without the use of it, to win her back from her error. At the head of that idea we placed McClellan. The exhibition of strength without using it; the idea that no crime was intended, but only misinformation lay at the basis of Southern action. That form of war was evidenced by slaves sent back to their masters; by a proclamation that we should put down insurrection with an iron hand; by a guard set over the empty house of Gen. Lee, while dying men lay in the swamp outside, under the storm and the sunshine; by a guard set over the spring in his garden that gave the only decent water within five miles, while fevered soldiers died of thirst within sight of the picket; by a guard set over his deserted garden, so that the wounded man was carried half a mile round out to the swamp to die, in order that the sacred enclosure might not be desecrated by the step of a Union soldier! Did it do any good? The South hugged herself in the delusion that the North either had no strength or dared not use it; and what had been the scattered elements of insurrection grew solid into a State; what had been a comparatively despicable shape of rebellion enlarged into the dimensions of civil war. Two years rolled away, and the curtain rose on another aspect of Northern purpose. Sherman sweeps like a tornado across Georgia, leaving desolation behind him, but, at the same time, holding the thunderbolt of vengeance in a merciful and restrained hand. One day, he crosses Sister's Ferry, and sets his feet on South Carolina. He sees before him eleven of his foragers, placed side by side on the green sward, with their throats cut, and pinned upon their breasts, "Death to every forager!" Thereupon he spreads the wings of his desolating host forty miles wide; burns, wherever he can reach them, the magnificent forests that make the wealth of that region; leaves behind him neither town nor village, neither house, nor barn, nor fence, neither fowl nor four-footed beast, nor, men and women excepted, any living thing, of any description whatever. One dead, uniform silence reigns where he has trod. In this guise, he sweeps up to Greensboro'. Behind him follow twenty-two thousand houseless beggars, craving of their conqueror the mercy of their daily bread. They were the men and the women who, a year ago, sat in proud houses, sure that the North either had no strength or was afraid to use it. Sherman wrote with the sword's point the purpose and the power of the North in letters forty miles long on the bosom of South Carolina, and the astounded Confederacy crumbled to pieces (applause). That was war, the other was plaything.

Now, our new President, in taking the chair of State, announces which kind of purpose will animate him in the coming four years, when he tells us "treason is a crime to be severely punished, not a mere difference of opinion" (loud applause). Now the question is, with the light of that experience behind us, with this announcement from the Presidential chair, what should be the duty and the manifestation of opinion on the part of the people to consummate the work? Well, I say no word as to what should be done to assassins. If the hand of Davis is red with the blood of our Chief Magistrate, we must leave him in the hands of the Administration, and to the wisdom of the government; it is not a lesson with which we have to deal. But when we speak of the great mass of public enemies—not rebels, but *public enemies*—on the other side of the pickets of this civil war, what should be the policy of the government which will soonest and surest guarantee the peace and the liberty of the negro? My idea, friends, is this. A thousand men, banded together by a deliberate and determined purpose, intellectual, decisive, influential, are the rebellion. It is not safe that that thousand men should dwell in North America (loud applause). Living or dead, here is no place for them. Men say, "A jury has no right to banish a citizen." Very likely. I never intended to try a public enemy by a jury. I should as soon think of Gov. Hancock, and Gen. Warren empannelling a jury on Bunker Hill to try a red-coat who had shot down one of their fellow-citizens (applause). The idea of a jury empannelled to try Jefferson Davis as a traitor would be to me, in the language of the age of Shakspeare, "a most lamentable and tragical comedy" (laughter). I should as soon try adders by a jury, and claim the benefit of *habeas corpus* for rattlesnakes (applause and laughter). For four years, the Supreme Court and the U. S. Executive have proclaimed, in word and deed, by proclamations of belligerency and blockade, by exchange of prisoners, by solemn judgments, that the men on the other side of the picket line were public enemies. I would have an Act of Congress that should select out a thousand men, the leading men of the South, and enunciate to the world that they are alien enemies, and that this sovereign nation, which has a right by all law, national and international, to forbid any foreigner from treading its soil, hereby forbids, under pain of death, any one of these men being found within the limits of the United States of America (loud applause); an Act of Congress, under the War Power, with no relation to treason, founded on the laws of war. *Public enemies*, whom Congress refuses to naturalize, holding, as Congress does, in its own hands, the exclusive power to naturalize an enemy into a citizen. Of course, when I banish these men, their property falls into the hands of the government. I would add to it the property of a thousand or two thousand more, the subaltern agents, the subordinate actors in this great conspiracy, not strong enough to need that they should be banished, but strong enough to need that they should be crippled. Having thus in my hands the land of the States, I should give it to the loyal white men and black men who are ready to occupy it (loud applause); and I have thus secured one element that gives validity to the parchment guarantee of liberty—Land.

Now for the other political power—the Ballot. In Revolutionary times, every man in this country, black and white, who was born free (except in South Carolina) voted—with the limitation, in some of the States, of a property qualification. Our fathers were too wise to require book learning as a preliminary condition of the ballot. I am surprised, and marvel greatly, that so masterly a mind as Stuart Mill should proclaim that in his theory a man must read before he votes. Does he not remember that, for four men out of five, education does not come from books? Does he suppose there was no education in the world before printing was invented? Is education the exclusive prerogative of colleges? Oh no. The mass of men have their faculties educated by work, not by reading. When God ordained, as a condition of our being, that we should earn our living in the sweat of our brows, he gave the guarantee of the development of brain. Whoever works, develops his intellectual faculties; and taking men in the mass, not as individuals, taking them in classes, the mass that works, but don't read, is half a century ahead of the mass that reads, but don't work (applause); and this is the reason why the negro is half a century ahead of the poor white man of the Southern States. The negro inherits a brain which work has cultivated for four generations, and he has added to it the skill of a practised hand. The white man inherits a brain sodden by the idleness of four generations, and he has improved his birthright by a life of soddenness. The consequence is, that today, if the soldier or the merchant wants advice or counsel, the negro is the only man among the masses who can give him either; and that, fairly considered, the only class ready for suffrage in the South is the negro (applause). In deference to national prejudice, and consideration of my own race, I would not exclude the white man on account of his ignorance (laughter and applause); but the only class that, as a class, has had the manipulation and development of the practical college of the masses, work, is the black man. Infinitely better, if you cannot have but one, is the education of work. I scout, therefore, as irrelevant, the whole theory of the limitation of the suffrage on the ground of information. The black knows enough to vote. I read the circular of a benevolent association which is about rising into existence in this country, and saw that it solicited the benevolence of Christians to elevate "the degraded black." I stopped there. "The degraded black"! I thought, if anti-slavery men and women, looking back on four years, and seeing that wherever a Union soldier went, he found counsel from black lips, that wherever he wanted sympathy, he found it in a black man's heart; that when Seward doubted whether the war would change the status of a single individual, and McClellan wrote over the flag a pledge to put down insurrection, the black, with a statesmanship born of his instinct, saw God behind the banner, and clung to it as his hope of freedom (applause)—I thought, if Abolitionists could see that mass, wronged with two centuries of oppression, racked and tortured in every relation of life—husband and father, mother and child—and then, when the weapon was in its hand, and the door open, never struck a blow at the master, teaching us Christianity, and, after four years of such experience, speak of "raising the degraded black," they were like the Bourbons, who neither forgot anything nor learned anything. To my mind, History, when she writes these four years of her record, weighing them in her impartial scales, will say that the intelligence and the Christianity of America culminated under a black skin (applause). I would give the black, therefore, and the white also suffrage. Then I have got the two elements of States in the hands of the people—Land and the Ballot.

Now, friends, it is not true, in the absolute sense, that slavery made this rebellion. The groundwork of the rebellion was the wish of a thousand men for an aristocratic government—a government of caste—a government modelled on the English. They did not dare to declare their purpose. They knew that such an argument would never "fire the Southern heart." This is no guess of mine. I know it, from actual confession, from the lips, but one remove from my ear, of the leader; and you know it, from the printed confession of many of the leaders. Aristocracy, mailing herself in State Rights, knowing that her only weapon to make the people support her was slavery, used that as the instrument to rouse the South. The Anti-Slavery Amendment has torn that weapon from the hands of the leaders, but the purpose remains the same. The South is not converted. You cannot kill off all the white men who cherish a hatred toward democratic institutions. You can only flank them, as Grant flanked Lee—flank them by democratic elements—Yankee commerce, black suffrage, divided lands. Grant followed Lee from Washington down to Richmond, flanking him at every step, and reached the hour when he could crush him at Burkesville. We have not got our Burkesville yet; we shall not have it these fifteen years. We must flank this inveterate prejudice; we cannot crush it. Now, therefore, the hellish hatred of the negro and of the poor white man which still animates the leading white men of the Carolinas, Louisiana and Mississippi, what shall be done with it? Well, friends, this is my third point: we must check it, not only by these elements, but by further parchment securities. Reconstruct South Carolina to-morrow; suppose she puts on her statute-book a law that no black man is a citizen, that no son of a slave shall ever be a citizen—she can do it. This United States government stands to-day in the abnormal position of not knowing who are its own citizens. The Dred Scott decision developed that fact boldly. We do not know who are the basis of our government; that lies with the States. Now, I love State Rights; that doctrine is the corner-stone of individual liberty. Prudence is a good quality; avarice is a hateful sin. The doctrine of State Rights, normally considered, is good; carried out to Calhoun's conclusion, it is devilish. I want to check it midway. How shall I do it? In this way: by having another amendment to the Constitution, which shall read thus—"No State shall ever make any distinction in civil privileges among those born on her soil, of parents permanently resident there, on account of race, color or condition!" (Applause.) I hope in time to be as bold as Stuart Mill, and add to that last clause, "sex" (renewed applause). But this hour belongs to the negro. As Abraham Lincoln said, "One war at a time"; so I say, One question at a time. This hour belongs to the negro. I therefore want an amendment—not that a State shall make no distinction among her *citizens*—that leaves her to say who is a citizen, and she might say that no son of a slave shall be a citizen—but that she shall make no distinction among persons born on her soil, heretofore or hereafter, of parents permanently resident there, on account of race, color or descent. When, Abolitionists, we have achieved that, we have checkmated State Rights, and have put the negro into the full enjoyment of his liberty. Until we do it, we leave him still at the mercy of the race that has hitherto victimized him. When we have done it, I will begin to work for the freedman. When we have given the negro the ballot in his right hand, the land under his feet, and a State Constitution above him that guarantees him his citizenship, I will then remember that the hoe he has used for four years has nothing left but the ring round the handle; I will remember that every one of his agricultural implements, few as they were, have been rendered useless, by four long years of labor, without renewal; I will remember that every horse that Sherman did not take, Wheeler's cavalry stole, so that he begins his new life with neither beast of burthen nor a tool; and I will bid the world expect but little of him for a year or two, until the South is reinvigorated. You do not comprehend the devastation of our troops, who left nothing living, and of their's, who left nothing worth stealing, behind. But, friends, the beauty of this hour is the race with which we deal. The white man sits there to-day, sullen, sulky, angered, defiant. The black man sits there, loving, Christian, and grateful. To a friend of mine who was in Sherman's ranks, a negro who came to them said, "The soldiers have taken my only two horses, and I have nothing in the world to work with, but thank God! for the massa gave me my freedom for the horses" (applause). It is on that joyous, jubilant, loving spirit that I found the real security of the Union.

Friends, this is the work before us. And by the good providence of God, there sits holding the helm to-day, a man who knows, by the bitter experience of his own hearth-stone left desolate, of his own wife and children turned homeless into the street, of the halter almost round his own neck, the bitterness of pro-slavery caste. He announces that treason is a crime, and not a mere difference of opinion (applause and cries of "Good"); and to-day, if the telegraph brings the truth, he announces also that the guarantee of the Union is land and the ballot in the hands of the black man (prolonged applause).

MRS. FRANCES WATKINS HARPER was then introduced, and delivered an admirable address, which we regret that, in deference to her wishes, we are compelled to refrain from reporting. It abounded in passages of rare eloquence, power and pathos, which elicited the warmest tokens of approbation from the audience, who testified their high gratification by repeated rounds of applause as the gifted speaker took her seat.

At the conclusion of Mrs. Harper's address, another hymn was sung by the choir, after which the meeting was addressed by Hon. Geo. Thompson and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, whose speeches we shall print next week.

A WORD FROM IRELAND.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM RICHARD D. WEBB.

DUBLIN, 22d April, 1865.

I NEED hardly say that the news of the fall of Richmond is full of interest. The whole war, as seen from this side, has been like a gigantic game of chess. The news generally comes at intervals of about a week, and we hold our breath waiting for the next move. How I honor Sumner for his conduct respecting the bust of Judge Taney, the Fort Pillow Massacre retaliation question, and the Claims and Rights of the Colored Race. I hope that no differences of opinion among the Abolitionists will lessen the interest of any in the cause of the colored people and in their determination to obtain the ballot for them. No matter how ignorant or degraded they may be or may have been, they are surer and safer friends of the North than native white Southerners or Northern pro-slavery Democrats, or immigrant Irish are likely to prove for many a day. It would be the worst of bad policy to refuse them the franchise, for without their assistance I see no chance of re-construction in the South. The malice and bitterness of the Southern people seem to know no bounds. I think the rebel military and civil leaders should be imprisoned for life, and all that the other proud rebels should be deprived of political rights. I know of nothing in history to compare with the merciful forbearance with which you Northerners have treated the instigators of this wicked rebellion who have fallen into your hands. If those men should get off scot free, how can any crime against the nation be punished in future? I fear some difficult years are before your government, but if you weather through them as bravely as you have through the past four, I do not doubt but the United States will soon become the sanctuary of Religion and Civilization, and all that the proudest boasts of her children in past times have proclaimed her to be."

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

THE advanced position taken by the *American Freedmen's Aid Union* on the question of negro citizenship, as expressed in the resolutions quoted below will cheer the hearts of all true Abolitionists. Considering that the Board which passed these resolutions include gentlemen connected with the bar, bench and pulpit of Baltimore, where the question of negro suffrage has not yet been publicly discussed, and men of like social position in Philadelphia where negroes are excluded from the street-cars. These resolutions certainly speak well for the moral tone of the body which passed them:

At a business meeting of the American Freedmen's Union, composed of delegates from Baltimore, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, held in this city on Wednesday, the 10th inst., Hon. H. L. Bond in the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That in the work which the societies represent in this Union are and have been prosecuting, of aiding and educating the colored men of the South, we recognize ourselves, and shall by all proper means persuade the people to recognize, the justice and wisdom of the immediate removal of every restriction on the fullest exercise of the rights of citizenship by the colored man.

"Resolved, That the government should recognize no distinction among the people of the South but loyalty and disloyalty, and that the right of suffrage is not only due to the fidelity of the colored man, but is the only sure basis for a permanent and righteous reconstruction of the Union.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by the Secretary to leading daily and weekly newspapers in this city for publication:

J. M. MCKIM, Secretary."

A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

THE *Herald* seems to be in earnest in its attempts to persuade the government to extend to the Southern Blacks the right of suffrage. Our readers will remember what we quoted from it on this subject last week. Here is another paragraph no less emphatic:

"What we want now is a final settlement with these disorganizing sectional factions on the slavery question and the negro question. The war has killed Southern slavery. Let it be buried and put out of the way as soon as possible. It ends the slavery agitation. But there is yet something left for abolition capital in the negro agitation. Against this demand that as slavery is abolished, and that as the African race have powerfully assisted us in putting down the rebellion and in saving the life of the nation, they should have a share in the political right of the ballot-box, what valid objection can be made? We cannot long resist this demand in view of the extinction of slavery and the services of the Southern blacks during this war. With every opportunity and in everyway they have been our faithful allies. We have had two hundred and fifty thousand of them in the service of the army and navy. Their battle of emancipation, involving four millions of their race, has turned the scale in our favor, and we must yield to the sagacity of President Lincoln's Emancipation edicts. It is folly to argue of against established facts. We adhere to the lights of experience and common sense. Hence we would say again to President Johnson that he has nothing to fear in laboring to give the Southern blacks the right of suffrage in the reconstruction of the rebellious States. Political negro exclusions, looking to the safety of negro slavery, are no longer necessary, slavery being dead. Above all, we want to see not only the slavery question, but the negro question, as a political hobby, permanently settled, so that Northern and Southern negro agitators may be silenced, in being deprived of the last parcel of their stock in trade—negro suffrage in the reconquered States."

PERSONAL.

The Hon. Simeon Draper delivered an address to the colored people of Charleston, on Friday night last, in Zion Church, previous to his departure for the North.

The death of Mr. Pliny Miles, well known as an advocate of cheap postal facilities in America, and as a statistician of unusual accuracy, is reported as having occurred at Malta, April 6, where he was attended by several American residents.

A movement has been initiated in Philadelphia for the purchase and presentation of a farm to Mrs. Lincoln. Single subscriptions are limited to $5.00 and all are to be sent to Jay Cooke & Co., who will publicly acknowledge them.

The *Liberator* acknowledges the receipt of $20 from Gerrit Smith, toward raising a fund for the destitute family of that intrepid and untiring friend of the slave, and of the cause of universal freedom, in whose behalf he laid down his life, the late Daniel Foster. May others feel moved to imitate this example of liberality.

Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, has received from Brevet Brig.-Gen. C S. Russell, the manuscript of Gen. Lee's farewell address to his army. It is in the handwriting of Gen. Lee's Adjutant, with the signature of the former rebel Commander-in-Chief at the bottom. It was given to Gen. Russell by an aid of Gen. Lee.

Says the *Commonwealth*, "Now that peace is restored in the vicinity of Charleston, it is proposed to commence on the monument to Col. Shaw, for which funds were subscribed by the colored regiments and freedmen, in South Carolina. It is to be placed on the spot where he fell, and Col. Higginson has been invited to lay the corner-stone.

Mrs. Lincoln will take her departure from the White House about the middle of the month, in the meantime the Executive business will be transacted at the Treasury department. President Johnson will occupy the late residence of Gen. Halleck, on Georgetown Heights, during June, July and August, or until the White House is overhauled and painted.

Charles Sumner has accepted the invitation of the City authorities of Boston to deliver a eulogy on Abraham Lincoln in that city (probably in Music Hall), on Thursday, June 1st. The Handel and Haydn Society, augmented to six hundred voices, have tendered their services. It is also contemplated to have a procession of trades and societies. The Rev. J. M. Manning has been appointed to deliver the usual oration before the City Government on the 4th of July.

Hon. Joseph S. Fowler and Hon. D. T. Patterson were elected U. S. Senators by the Legislature of Tennessee on the 4th inst. Mr. Fowler is a native of Ohio, an anti-slavery man and a thorough radical, and one of the first scholars of the South. Mr. Patterson is one of the first jurists of the State. He is a son-in-law of President Johnson, and like him stood by the government in the darkest hour of the rebellion.

Mr. Potter, the liberal candidate to succeed Mr. Cobden as M.P. for Rochdale, has been elected. A Liverpool paper says:

"In the evening the new member briefly addressed an immense assemblage of his constituents, and congratulated them on the downfall of Richmond. He remarked that the Southerners, the proudest aristocracy in the world, had been compelled to bow down before the offended majesty of the North. 'Let this warning,' said Mr. Potter, 'not be lost to the proudest aristocracy in Europe, and let them remember that the maintenance of wrong to a great people is as unsafe as it is unjust.'"

Sallie Holley communicates to the *Liberator* news of the death of William Buffum of Detroit, formerly of Rhode Island. He was a brother of the late Arnold Buffum, first President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Miss Holley says:

"He was one of the oldest and best friends of the colored people of Detroit. He and his bereaved family were endeared to us, as so many other anti-slavery families are from Maine to Michigan, for the personal kindness received in our fourteen years' mission of anti-slavery pilgrimage. It is eleven years since we visited Detroit, and were hen welcomed and our ears pleased with the Thee and the Thou of this friendly family, as we talked of their own dear anti-slavery friends in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. And now, by the all-wise disposing Providence, we were to meet the daughters and their lovely mother in this sudden and great affliction—and to go over with them tenderly the retrospect of the labors and love of the departed of their circle of friends and relatives in the divine cause of human freedom—Arnold Buffum (the brother), Effingham L. Capron and his wife, Mrs. Sarah Earle, Cyrus Burleigh, and so recently, Nathaniel B. Bordon. We felt afresh how blessed it was to have had a part in those days when its disciples were few and despised in bringing the coming of the kingdom of Liberty in our beloved land."

FLIGHT OF SANDERS AND TUCKER.

GEORGE N. SANDERS and BEVERLY TUCKER have fled from Montreal, whither is not generally known. Their flight is well calculated to deepen the suspicion that they are in some way implicated in the assassination of President Lincoln. Anticipating a demand upon the Canadian government for their extradition under the Ashburton treaty, they doubtless thought "discretion the better part of valor," and at once took their departure, leaving behind them a manifesto which affords a new illustration of rebel impudence and bluster.

MONTREAL, May 4, 1865.

To ANDREW JOHNSON, *President of the United States:*

Your proclamation is a living, burning lie, known to be such by yourself and all your surroundings, and all the hired perjurers in Christendom shall not deter us from exhibiting to the civilized world your hellish plot to murder *our* Christian President!

We recognize in many of your most distinguished Generals, men of honor, and we do not believe their association even with you, has so brutalized them as to prevent their doing justice to a public enemy under such grave charges. Be this as it may, we challenge you to select any nine of the twenty-five Generals that we name, to form a Court-martial for our trial, to be convened at the United States Fort, at Rouse's Point, or any other place, that you will not have the power to incite the mob to destroy us, *en route:* Guns, Scott, Grant, Sherman, Meade, Rosecrans, Howard, Burnside, Hancock, Hooker, Schofield, Wright, Dix, Cadwallader, Emory, Blair, Pleasanton, Logan, Steele, Peck, Hatch, Franklin, Rodman, Alexander, Carr, Reynolds and Meagher. The money that you have so prodigally offered to have the unoffending neutrality of a neighboring State violated by the unwarrantable seizure of our persons, to be paid over to defray the professional and other expenses of our trial, to the lawyers that we shall designate, and who are in no wise to be prejudiced in our defence. Our witnesses also to have the fullest protection, and upon our acquittal of the charges preferred against us in your proclamation, we are to be permitted to return under safe conduct.

In conclusion we say we have no acquaintance whatever with Mr. Beoth, or any of those alleged to have been engaged with him. We have never seen or had any knowledge in any wise of him or them, and *he has never written us a note, or sought an interview with us.*

GEORGE N. SANDERS,
BEVERLY TUCKER.

ENFORCING THE PROCLAMATION.

THE following order of Gen. Schofield affords gratifying evidence that the Administration intends to fulfil the promise made to the slaves in the Emancipation Proclamation of Jan. 1, 1863.

HDQRS. DEPT. OF N. C., ARMY OF THE OHIO, }
RALEIGH, N. C., April 28, 1865. }

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 32.—To remove a doubt which seems to exist in the minds of some of the people of North Carolina, *it is hereby declared that, by virtue of the Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated January* 1, 1863, *all persons in this State heretofore held as slaves are now free; and that it is the duty of the army to maintain the freedom of such persons.*

It is recommended to the former masters of the freedmen to employ them as hired servants at reasonable wages. And it is recommended to the freedmen that, when allowed to do so, they remain with their former masters and labor faithfully so long as they shall be treated kindly and paid reasonable wages; or that they immediately seek employment elsewhere in the kind of work to which they are accustomed. It is not well for them to congregate about towns or military camps. They will not be supported in idleness.

By command of Maj.-Gen. Schofield.

J. A. CAMPBELL, Ass't. Adj.-Gen.

The Raleigh *Progress*, speaking of this order, says:

"This order settles the question of slavery as far as North Carolina is concerned, and we hope we shall hear no more of it. And we are glad to see, too, that these people are given to understand that they will not be encouraged in idleness by the government authorities, but that they are expected to earn a living by toil, as the white people do. Gen. Schofield also advises the former owners of these negroes to retain their services as a fair remuneration, and the latter to remain at their former homes if they are wanted. In a short time we believe that this system will be found to work to the advantage of both parties, and that our people, generally, will be satisfied with it. We have known, for some time, that there was no return to the Union and no chance of peace but in the abandonment of slavery; for the people of the South, as well as those of the North, are determined that this vexed question shall never be allowed again to disturb the national councils or lead to fratricidal strife.

"Those of our people who would still cling to the institution of slavery must accept the situation as they find it, and not as they would have it; and if the people of North Carolina would act wisely they will make all possible haste to ask readmission to the Union, without slavery."

SCENES IN NORTH CAROLINA.

NEWBERN, March 25, 1865.

IT is a magnificent day—genial as mid-summer at the North. Sitting under open windows, we listen to the rustle of trees, the music of innumerable birds, pre-eminent among which is the mocking bird—and inhale balmy airs freighted with fragrance from the early blossoms of the peach and plum, and the delicate odors of the hyacinth and jessamine. The talloo tree and crape myrtle close to our windows are developing into bloom, and from nature's visible signs, the abundant promise of buds, we know that Newbern will soon be a garden of roses. But mid these beautiful scenes—

"Where Nature loves to trace
As if for gods a dwelling place,"

so sweet and calm one can scarcely realize *sin* ever entered the world, we have painful evidence of the proximity of the battle-field. We see in imagination the bloody, reeking soil, we hear the booming of cannon and the heavy roar of artillery. "The front," where are centred the combined forces of Sherman's army, is only about forty miles distant. Listening to the ministrations of Nature, I think of Whittier's Battle Hymn as being most appropriate to the scene:

"The flags of war like storm-birds fly,
The charging trumpets blow;
Yet rolls no thunder in the sky,
No earthquake strives below.

"And calm and patient, Nature keeps
Her ancient promise well,
Though o'er her bloom and greenness sweeps
The battle breath of hell."

Every day the cars arrive loaded with wounded soldiers, with white and colored refugees, and with rebel prisoners by the hundred. Nine hundred have just been marched up and ordered to halt in the street opposite our windows at the Teacher's Home. They are formed in line as in battle, to await further orders. Oh! what a sight! they are so dirty and woe-begone! A "live rebel" will never be an object of curiosity to us New Englanders again. They are resting in various attitudes—some lie flat upon the ground, others lean against their fellow-soldiers. One very young man standing within a few feet of our own door, too weak to support himself, is held up on either side by his companions. He puts his hand to his breast and coughs. The colored people gather in groups upon the pavements—one spies his former master whom he remembers to have been the most cruel of slaveholders. He beckons to his slave to approach—but the *chattel*, metatmorphosed into a *man*, thinks he has been *too near* him before voluntarily to go again.

You may see the colored people passing down the lines with buckets of water offering each rebel a cooling draught. What could more fitly symbolize the forgiving nature of the Negro race?

A file of Newbern ladies are pacing along, rebel sympathizers, who have never been visible before. They gaze with a searching glance into each face, hoping to meet friend or kindred. Dressed in antediluvian style, they come out like *torpid* flies, and look as though they had not seen the sun for months. How could I help pitying them? They drop money into rebel hands and consoling words into rebel ears. The question is asked, would Federal prisoners in their keeping meet with such indulgencies? Certainly not—but that would furnish no apology for us to disgrace humanity by such fiendish treatment as rebels mete out to those Unionists who have the misfortune of falling into their hands. In view of the victorious march of our armies through the very vitals of rebeldom, we can well afford to be lenient.

The soldiers who accompanied the rebels as guards, tired and foot-worn, were resting after their toilsome march—some sitting on their knapsacks, others on the pavements along the streets, their heavy muskets thrown on the ground by their sides. Even such rest as this must be grateful after a toilsome march of two months. They are from the right wing of Sherman's army—and have had no communication with civilized society outside their own military lines during the whole of that time. How many hearts will dilate with joy or be wrung with anguish, when letters from four hundred mail bags which have just arrived for Sherman's army are opened.

My room mate, Miss C., has just prepared a warming potation for the young man whose cough seemed to appeal so much to our compassion. But before she could get it to him they were ordered off. Did she do right? "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink," is a significant injunction.

Rebel prisoners in the hospitals *here* are treated with even-handed kindness.

North Carolina, which has heretofore been an humble member in the family of the States—regarded as an inferior, and looked down upon by her supercilious, domineering sister of the same name, has, by an unexpected turn in the course of National events, become the cynosure of all eyes. Her sister States regard her with jealous interest, and the nations watch her from afar. It is confidently expected that on her soil will be enacted the closing scene in the terrible tragedy of civil war, which aristocratic rebellion has waged against democratic institutions: and Newberne, from its proximity to the field of battle, is, at this important juncture, an exceedingly interesting point of observation. Here are witnessed day by day scenes of the most thrilling interest, pressing and crowding upon each other in too rapid succession to admit of being recorded by any common or uncommon process. One who does not desire to be kept on the *qui vive* the live-long day with sight-seeing of all descriptions, quaint, grotesque and serious, must needs stay away from the windows or tightly close the blinds. Could a poet, like the one who immortalized scenes from "Casa Guidi's windows," but describe with glowing word-pictures what appears in review here hour by hour, how would the heart of humanity palpitate in view of events which involve not only *fractional* liberty, Italian or American, but the liberty of all nations and peoples.

Insignificant details of personal interest become necessarily so inwrought, by proximity of time and space, with great historic events, that the finite mind, limited to a view of proximate results, is incapable of grasping principles underlying the hand to hand encounter of Democracy with Despotism, which is destined to work out the problem of liberty in this country. We cannot compass "the lines and figures of that enormous geometry illustrating human destiny, which the crow calls *chance*, but the thinking man *Providence*."

When the whirl and excitement of the struggle shall have subsided, and sweet Peace shall again brood over this Nation, as it assuredly will—removed to a philosophic distance, what now appears obscure in the horoscope of the future will be clearly defined—and in all the dispensations of this contest, we shall be able to trace retributive justice and a Divine Hand. Relieved from doubts and mis-givings, we shall sing songs of thanksgiving and praise on the banks of deliverance, in view of the blessings of liberty and of free institutions the benefit of which must extend to all future generations.

A. G.

ON THE RIGHT SIDE AT LAST.—A few years since, the Young Men's Christian Association of this city, after a protracted discussion, determined that the subject of slavery should not thereafter be entertained in its meetings. The few members who labored earnestly to induce the Association to remember the bondman as bound with him were denounced and proscribed as disturbers of its peace. Behold the change wrought since that day! Soon after the assassination of the President, the Association, at a special meeting, adopted a series of resolutions, two of which we copy:

Resolved, That we recognize in the manner of his [President Lincoln's] death the familiar hand of that system of assassination which for 80 years has embittered the councils of our country, stricken down Senators in the Senate Chamber, repressed free speech, bought and sold and whipped the laboring class, starved to death prisoners of war and deluged a nation in blood, and that we will never rest till that sum of all villanies is extirpated in the land.

Resolved, That we humble ourselves in contrition for the assent by us given in times past to this system of sin, and devoutly promise for the future a more perfect conformity to that freedom wherewith Christ has made us free.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.—The Legislature of Connecticut, at the earliest moment after effecting an organization, proceeded to ratify the Anti-Slavery Prohibitory Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. It is a significant fact that the vote was unanimous—the Connecticut Democracy having at last abandoned all attempts to save slavery from the doom pronounced upon it by the American people. New Jersey and Kentucky will follow suit at an early day, and Delaware may be carried at the next election if the friends of freedom there work as they ought.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, May 8th, 1865.

IN spite of our intense concentration of interest upon the war, the desperate last struggles of the rebel Confederacy, and the preliminary movements of secession *from* secession, we have time for some of those things which have been appropriately called "Boston notions," and of these I will give you a few items.

You know something of the Warren St. Chapel, which, under the care of Rev. Charles F. Barnard, has been for more than a quarter of a century doing a vast variety of good works for the poor and ignorant of the city. All these years, Mr. Barnard has been carrying on an enterprise of immense importance for the welfare of the community, the rescue of poor children from habits of idleness and vagrancy. For these purposes he long ago established various methods of operation, a Sewing School, a Sunday School, a week-day Evening School for children and adults, male and female, and a Charity School, all of which have been increasing from year to year. With these were associated libraries, adapted to various grades of intelligence, amusements (not only as *bait* for those who did not value instruction for its own sake, but as a necessity of human nature, the gratification of which should be recognized and provided for by the good, that the influence derived from the supply of it may not fall into the hands of the evil) and, lastly, various means partaking both of amusement and instruction. This great undertaking of course has grown upon Mr. Barnard's hands, and an assistant to his labors in the Warren St. Chapel has recently been appointed, Rev. William G. Babcock.

These good men, a short time ago, held an informal preliminary meeting for conversation, upon the group of subjects which may be called "Social Science," and to concert means for bringing such matters more actively to the notice of the public. Among the topics spoken of were Criminal Jurisprudence, Penal Management with a view to the reform of criminals, free labor and emigration, and some possible means of improvement of our social condition and prospects. Among the persons who were called to this meeting by a notice in an evening paper were two laboring men, just from their work, and in their working dress, who took an intelligent part in the conversation, and showed themselves deeply interested in that class of subjects. After an evening spent in very pleasant and instructive conversation, a Committee of three was chosen (one a lady) to arrange for a subsequent meeting, make inquiry in regard to the best persons to give public lectures upon this class of subjects, and report progress when they are ready. All present seemed to regard this small beginning as encouraging and hopeful.

A good public work of kindred character has recently been done

to a third reading (nearly but not quite equivalent to enactment) of the State Police Bill in our House of Representatives. The municipal authorities of Boston have never been willing to execute the State laws against the sale of spirituous liquors, and of course the Police appointed by them, however satisfactory in other respects, allow those laws to be violated with impunity. It is hoped that a completion of this new arrangement will do much to interfere with the lucrative business of manufacturing drunkards, which is extensively carried on in Boston and other cities. In the meantime, however, the daily press, unwilling to offend a moneyed interest so vast as that which makes, sells and uses the means of intoxication, rages and roars against the new law, abuses its promoters, and predicts all sorts of evil from its operation. As to this, we shall be better able to judge after a trial of it.

A question of intense interest now is—Will Jeff. Davis be caught? For one, I rather hope that he will succeed in sneaking away from this country. The ends of retribution will be more completely accomplished by the head of the rebellion becoming a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth, driven away from one civilized nation after another by the demand of the United States government for surrender of the murderer, and obliged to seek utter obscurity, fearful even there of betrayal and capture—than even by the hanging which would *now* be sure to follow his arrest in this country. Infamy will snatch him from oblivion, even in the minds of those who formerly sympathized with him. I am cruel enough to wish him to live to drain that cup to the dregs.

NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, May 7, 1865.

THE government charges Jeff. Davis, Jacob Thompson, George Sanders and other leaders of the rebellion with being guilty of the murder of the President, and if they were in our hands they would have to stand trial, first for murder, and secondly for treason. The President has taken a very bold step in issuing his proclamation. He did it upon the recommendation of Judge Advocate Holt and Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War. *They* knew exactly the character of the evidence in the possession of the government, and advised the President to issue the proclamation. It was a very serious thing to make so terrible a charge against even Southern slaveholders and rebels, and if upon trial it should turn out that the government has not the clear evidence of the facts alleged, the Administration must suffer from its rashness. It may be that Beverly Tucker is innocent of the crime of assassination, but there can be no doubt whatever that Jeff. Davis, George Sanders and Clement C. Clay are capable of just such horrible deeds. They were always *bad* men, and by that I do not mean that they rebelled against the government. Putting aside the question of the rebellion, they were always *men of bad character*. Clay especially, when he lived in Washington, was a mean, dirty-souled wretch—just the kind of a man to grow out of the soil of slavery. It is said that the government has good evidence of all that it charges against these villains (for villains they are even if innocent of the murder of the President), and it is to be hoped that this is the case. Judge Holt is a very sanguine man, and is a little given sometimes to color. I mean that his mind is so constituted that he expresses himself with great strength, and he has sufficient imagination to enable him to see a plot sometimes when men of a doubting, sceptical nature would not. It is, however, but fair to credit the government with possessing the evidence of all that it charges. The trial will soon settle all doubts.

It is rumored that we are soon to have all the facts respecting Mr. Lincoln's attempt to "reconstruct" the State government of Virginia. Some of them, doubtless, will not be regarded in a favorable light by the more earnest and radical friends of the government, but it should not be forgotten that Mr. Lincoln saw before he died that it was impossible to hand over the work of reconstruction to the leaders in the late rebellion. There was a disposition at one time to blame Gen. Weitzel for what he did at Richmond, but he did not take a step without instructions. At first the President (Mr. Lincoln) was inclined to forgive the South *en masse*, recognizing Govs. Smith, Vance, Brown and Watts as the Governors of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. But before he died he saw the danger of this course. It is true that with such intimate advisers as Mr. Seward and the Blairs Mr. Lincoln might have been in great danger of adopting a conciliatory policy which would soon have ended in another revolution. It is very different now. Mr. Johnson is a very positive, radical man, and he needs prudent advisers. There is no danger that such men can lead him to adopt an unwise conciliatory policy, but they may prevent him from resorting to really vindictive measures.

Some of the newspapers have published a statement that Mr. Stanton tendered his resignation to the President as soon as he learned that he contemplated calling the rebel Legislature of Virginia together. It is undoubtedly true that Mr. Stanton and Mr. Speed, the Attorney-General, waited upon Mr. Lincoln to remonstrate against the adoption of such a policy, but it is extremely unfair to represent the late President as abandoning his plans at the dictation of members of his Cabinet, or because they threatened to resign. Such is not a fair representation of the facts. Mr. Lincoln himself saw that he could not commit the work of reconstruction to such hands. The letter which he received from Judge Campbell gave proof of this. It was an insolent letter, and Mr. Lincoln saw from it that the spirit of the rebellion needed further chastisement.

Mr. Johnson is careful to confine himself to generalities in the speeches he has made thus far since he suddenly became President. Upon the question of negro suffrage he is silent. But his course in Tennessee towards the colored people was such as to win their confidence completely. His hatred of the slaveholding aristocracy is so profound that we may be sure that he will not neglect to take *any* step that may be necessary to destroy that aristocracy. It is very certain that he is quite as advanced in his views as Mr. Lincoln was upon this subject. A speech of his is quoted from, which was made before he was President, in front of the Blair dwelling in this city. It was made on the day that Gen. Weitzel's troops captured Richmond, and no good report was made of it. A dozen different versions have been published, but Mr. Johnson's friends say that not one of them is correct—that not one of them does justice to him. So that very little dependence can be placed upon any report of this speech. The simple truth is that Mr. Johnson is not committed to any theory upon this subject, and may choose to hand it over to Congress without a recommendation. Congress certainly can, if it will, refuse to recognize any State whose Constitution does not give the ballot to the negro—that is, it may refuse to admit Senators and Representatives from such States. That is the *only* way to get at it.

It is not certain that Congress will do this. All depends upon circumstances. I understand that Gen. Lee and other leaders, military and political, advise the Southern people to accept without complaint whatever may be offered to them, on the ground that the South is fairly beaten, and its people will get better terms by submitting without a murmur to the government. There is now every appearance that no guerilla warfare will follow the terrible four years contest in the open field. The *war* is really at an end. If the Southern people shall honestly and heartily abandon slavery and denounce the wicked leaders of the rebellion, the President and Congress will undoubtedly incline to a lenient policy. Two things, however, must be guarded against—slavery and a repudiation of the National debt. There must be no possibility of restoring slavery; no possibility of repudiation. The best method of destroying slavery is to adopt the Constitutional Amendment, but if we would knock secession and repudiation on the head with one blow, is there any better way than to give the elective franchise to the colored men of the South?

AVON.

EFFORTS FOR FREEDMEN IN GREAT BRITAIN.—At a meeting of the Unitarian Congregations of the city of Dublin, held on the evening of April 21st, a very effective and comprehensive Address on behalf of the Freed People of the United States was read by Mr. Alfred Webb of that city. From this meeting valuable results are anticipated.

The Society of Friends are represented as having been by far the most liberal helpers in this good work, both in Great Britain and Ireland. When one of their members in Leeds recently put down his name for 50 pounds in aid of the Freedmen, and his wife heard of it, she reproached him for giving so little, and said, he "should have added another 0"; which he did and made it 500 pounds.

A CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW

Of the Anti-Slavery Acts and Events of the Administration of President Abraham Lincoln.

☞ The principal acts of the Slave Power, in organizing the rebellion against the United States, are given as preliminary to the main purpose of this View.

1860.

Nov. 10. South Carolina Legislature ordered the election of a State Convention to consider the question of Secession.

.. 15. Great public meeting at Mobile adopted a Declaration of Causes of Secession.

.. 18. Georgia Legislature voted one million dollars for arming the State.

.. 24. Vigilance Associations formed in South Carolina. Subsequently in all the slave States. These associations established a "reign of terror" throughout the South, administering summary penalties, without judge or jury, to all who entertained Union sentiments, and driving great numbers, in poverty and with personal violence, from their homes.

Dec. 10. Louisiana Legislature appropriated $500,000 to arm the State.

.. 20. South Carolina State Convention adopted a Secession Ordinance by a unanimous vote; and on the 24th adopted a "Declaration of Causes," and an Address to other Slaveholding States.

.. 25. South Carolina Convention adopted resolutions for forming a Confederate government of the slaveholding States.

.. 28. The United States custom-house, post office and arsenal at Charleston, S. C., seized by the State authorities, and Fort Moultrie and Castle Pickney occupied by State troops.

1861.

Jan. 2. Fort Macon at Beaufort the fortifications at Wilmington, and the U. S. Arsenal at Fayetteville, all in North Carolina, seized by the authorities of that State.

.. .. Forts Pulaski and Jackson in the harbor of Savannah, and the U. S. Arsenal at Savannah, seized by the Georgia authorities, and occupied by their State troops.

.. 4. Fort Morgan, Mobile Bay, and U. S. Arsenal at Mobile, seized by order of Governor of Alabama.

.. .. Gov. Pickens, of South Carolina, appointed his Cabinet (!) as follows: Sec. of State, A. G. Magrath; Sec. of War, D. F. Jamison; Sec. of the Treasury, C. G. Memminger; Sec. of the Interior, A. C. Garlington; Postmaster-General, W. W. Harlee. No "Secretary of the Navy" seems to have been appointed.

.. 9. Mississippi State Convention passed an Ordinance for immediate Secession; 84 to 15.

.. 10. Florida State Convention passed an Ordinance for Secession; 62 to 7.

.. .. Forts St. Philip and Jackson, below New Orleans, and Fort Pike on Lake Pontchartrain, and the United States Arsenal at Baton Rouge seized by Louisiana authorities and held by their troops.

.. 11. Alabama State Convention passed an Ordinance of Secession, 61 to 39.

.. 18. Virginia Legislature appropriated one million dollars for the defence of the State.

.. 19. Georgia State Convention adopted Ordinance of Secession, 208 to 89.

.. 26. Louisiana State Convention adopted Ordinance of Secession, 113 to 17.

.. 31. United States Mint and Custom House at New Orleans seized by the authorities of Louisiana.

Feb. 1. Texas State Convention passed Secession Ordinance, 166 to 7. Adopted by the people by 24,000 majority.

.. 4. Convention of seceded States assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, Howell Cobb presiding.

.. 8. United States Arsenal at Little Rock, Arkansas, seized by authorities of Arkansas.

M'ch 11. Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States adopted at Montgomery. Jefferson Davis previously appointed President, provisionally.

.. 16. The Territorial Convention of Arizona adopts an Ordinance of Secession.

April 11. Beauregard demands the unconditional surrender of Fort Sumter. Refused by Maj. Anderson.

.. 12. Bombardment of Fort Sumter commenced. Fort evacuated, 14th.

.. 17. Virginia State Convention passed Ordinance of Secession, 88 to 55; referring to people for ratification.

.. 29. Gov. Harris, of Tennessee, orders seizure of $75,000 worth of bonds, and $5,000 in money, belonging to the United States, and then in keeping of the U. S. Collector at Nashville.

May 6. Virginia admitted to the Confederacy.

.. .. Arkansas State Convention adopts Secession Ordinance, 69 to 1.

.. ... Tennessee Legislature passed an Ordinance of Secession.

.. 21. North Carolina State Convention passed Secession Ordinance, unanimously.

.. 23. Pres. Jefferson Davis issues instructions to privateers under letters of marque, to make war upon commerce of the United States in every shape and way.

1861.

May 27. About 100 slaves escaped, and sought refuge in Fortress Monroe. Gen. B. F. Butler declared them "contraband of war," and lawful prizes.

.. 30. Gen. Butler authorized to retain all fugitive slaves within his lines, employ them, and keep an account of their services and expenses.

Aug. 1. Secretary of War orders the slaves imprisoned at Alexandria to be released, employed on fortifications, and to be paid therefor.

.. 6. President Lincoln signs (though reluctantly, it was said) the Confiscation Bill passed at extra session, which (among other things) frees slaves in the military or naval service of the Confederacy.

Dec. 4. Secretary Seward writes to Gen. McClellan, against imprisoning or returning fugitive slaves of rebels.

.. 11. Port Royal Islands occupied by U. S. forces. Cultivation commenced, the former slaves being employed as free laborers.

1862.

Feb. 14. U. S. Senate passed a bill remedying abuses in the jails of the District, in regard to alleged fugitive slaves.

.. 21. Nathaniel P. Gordon convicted as a slave-trader, hung in the city of New York; the first instance of a capital punishment for this offence for forty years.

M'ch. 6. President Lincoln recommends Congress to pass resolutions of coöperation with any State which may adopt a system of gradual emancipation, and affording to such pecuniary compensation for losses thereby. The House of Representatives acceded, March 11th; the Senate, April 2d.

April 3. Slavery abolished in the District of Columbia by vote of Senate 29 to 14; House concurred, April 11th, by vote of 93 to 39.

.. 16. President Lincoln signed the said Bill.

June 5. President Lincoln signs the Bill of Congress opening diplomatic relations with the Republics of Hayti and Liberia.

June 18. Congress passed Bill to confiscate (emancipate) slaves of rebels. Bill signed by President, July 17.

.. 20. President Lincoln signed Bill prohibiting slavery in the Territories forever.

July 11. President Lincoln approves the Bill of Congress, to carry into effect the treaty between the United States and England for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

.. 17. The President approves the Bill of Congress to make provision, for the term of five years, for slaves taken from slave-trading vessels.

July 22. Secretary of War orders that slaves may be seized by any U. S. Military Commander, and employed as laborers.

Aug. 1. Negro troops in South Carolina, enlisted in U. S. Service, declared free.

.. 11. Gen. Grant forbids the return, by Union troops, of fugitive slaves to Confederate masters, in accordance with Act of Congress.

.. 22. Gen. Butler reorganized the "Native Guards," a colored corps of the Louisiana Militia, and placed them in the U. S. Service.

Sept. 22. Proclamation of President Lincoln that on the first day of January, 1863, "all slaves in States, or parts of States, then in rebellion should be forever free."

Oct. 8. Gen. Saxton sailed for Port Royal, S. C., with extended powers for the employment of negroes.

Dec. 1. In Annual Message, President Lincoln renews recommendation of compensated emancipation.

1863.

Jan. 1. The President issues his Proclamation declaring the slaves in ten rebel States, to the number of over Three Million, "are and henceforward shall be free." Actual number 3,119,397.

.. 13 Gen. Ullman of New York empowered to organize a brigade of colored troops for U. S. Service.

.. 20 The Secretary of War authorizes the Governor of Massachusetts to enlist colored regiments, for same.

.. 25. First Regiment of Union Colored Soldiers in South Carolina organized at Port Royal.

Feb. 2. Bill for enlisting negro soldiers passed House of Representatives.

.. 9. Gen. Hunter orders all able-bodied negroes in Department of the South, not otherwise employed in the U. S. Service, to be conscripted.

.. 14. President Lincoln approves Act incorporating the National Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children.

.. 26. The Cherokee Indian Nation repeal their Secession Act, and abolish slavery in their nation. This set free 2,504 slaves.

M'ch 3. President approved the Bill of Congress that "no person shall be excluded from certain railroad cars" in the District, "on account of color." This provision was afterwards extended to all the roads in the District.

.. 10. The 1st and a part of the 2d South Carolina Colored Regiments, Cols. Higginson and Montgomery, take possession of Jacksonville, Fla.

.. 24 West Virginia, by a nearly unanimous vote, amends Constitution, adopting a system of gradual emancipation for slaves living; all born after July 4, 1863, to be free.

April 9. A force of U. S. Colored Troops takes possession of Pascagoula, La., and holds it against a much larger Confederate force.

May 4. U. S. Colored Troops return to Beaufort, S. C., with 800 slaves set free, and 2 millions worth of rebel property destroyed.

.. 27. In the terrific assault on Port Hudson, Gen. Banks reports of the Louisiana Native Colored Regiment, that it "answered every expectation; no troops could be more determined or daring."

May 28. The 54th Mass. Regiment (colored) march from Boston, Col. Robt. G. Shaw commanding, being the first Colored Regiment to go from the North.

June 2. The 2d South Carolina Union (Colored) Regiment, Col. Montgomery, pass up the Coosaw river, and march into the country 25 miles; adding one thousand men (freed slaves) to the U. S. troops, and destroying one million dollars worth of rebel property.

.. 8. At the very severe and unequal fight at Milliken's Bend, La., the Union troops, being mainly colored, are victorious; and received the unqualified commendation of their officers.

.. 12. Great meeting in New York City to encourage the raising of Colored Troops.

July 1. Missouri adopts Ordinance of Prospective Emancipation.

13.–18. Terrible Riots in New York City—professedly to oppose the draft; but the real *animus* shown by the mob's immediate destruction of the Colored Orphan Asylum, assault on colored men and the murder of several of them, and the ransacking of houses of anti-slavery men. The city authorities being (apparently) unable to suppress the riots and Gov. Seymour being evidently not inclined to do so, the U.S. Military authorities took the matter in hand vigorously, and with speedy success.

.. 18. In the assault on Fort Wagner, S. C., the Colored Troops act with the greatest bravery; Gen. Strong, Col. R. G. Shaw, and many other officers, killed.

.. 22. Gen. Foster orders the recruitment of Colored Troops in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. He also apportions Roanoke Island among the families of the colored soldiers.

.. 30. Pres. Lincoln issues a proclamation in relation to colored troops; ordering retaliation for every soldier killed in violation of the laws of war, or enslaved.

Aug. 10. Gen. Grant establishes camps for unemployed people of color.

.. 13 Gen. Burnside regulates the employment and subsistence of impressed negro laborers.

.. 26. President Lincoln writes his admirable letter to the New York and Illinois State Conventions in vindication of his Emancipation Policy: the "promise [of which] being made, must be kept"

Oct. 23. Dr. Wright executed at Norfolk, Va., for murder of a Union officer in command of colored troops.

Dec. 8. President Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation requires all who take its benefits to accept and support all proclamations and laws in regard to slaves and their emancipation.

1864.

Jan. 16. Gen. Saxton promulgates at Beaufort, S. C., the instructions of the President and Secretary of the Treasury for the sale of lands in his department. At the sale many lots (of 20 acres each) were purchased by men who had lately been slaves.

M'ch 10. The VIRGINIA Constitutional Convention (loyal), assembled at Alexandria, agreed, with but one dissenting vote, to insert in the new Constitution provisions forever abolishing and prohibiting Slavery, and forbidding the General Assembly ever to make laws recognizing property in human beings.

.. — ARKANSAS, in a popular election, in which some 10,000 votes were cast, adopted a Constitution forever prohibiting Slavery in the State; but few voting against it.

.. 17. The territories of NEVADA, COLORADO, and NEBRASKA authorized by Congress to form State governments and enter the Union, on conditions, one of which is that Slavery shall be prohibited therein by an irrevocable law, except with consent of Congress.

May 11. The LOUISIANA Convention, by a vote of 70, adopted as the fundamental law of the State, that Slavery is forever abolished and prohibited throughout the State; and that the Legislature shall make no law recognizing the right of property in man. It also provided for the extension of the suffrage to Colored Men in certain conditions.

June 7. The "National Union Convention" at Baltimore, composed of delegates from every loyal State and District of the Union, adopt among their fundamental principles "that as Slavery was the cause and now constitutes the strength of this Rebellion," * * "justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic"; and that there should be "such an amendment to the Constitution * * as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of Slavery * * in the United States. This Convention nominated ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois, for President, and ANDREW JOHNSON, of Tennessee, for Vice-President, for four years from March 4, 1865.

.. 13. The House of Representatives vote to REPEAL the *Fugitive Slave Laws*, 82 to 58, every negative vote being given by a self-styled "Democrat," except Smithers of Delaware. On the 23d the Senate gave their vote for the repeal, 27 to 12; and on the 28th, President Lincoln approved the same. So end the legal huntings of fugitive slaves in the United States.

.. 24. The Maryland Constitutional Convention, assembled at Annapolis, voted that Slavery be forever prohibited in Maryland, and all slaves were declared free; the vote standing 53 to 27. Ratified by the people, Nov. 1st.

.. 24. The U. S. Senate voted to repeal all provisions authorizing the Coastwise Slave Trade. Approved by the President, July 2d.

.. .. U. S. Attorney General Bates officially pronounces colored men to be citizens of the United States.

June 25. The U. S. Senate voted to repeal former Colonization appropriations. The idea of Colonization may be considered henceforth repudiated by the American government and people.

.. 25. The U. S. Senate, by an amendment to Appropriation Bill, provides that there shall be no exclusion of witnesses from the Courts of the United States, on account of color. Approved by the President, July 2d.

.. 25. President Lincoln approved the Bill of Congress, providing schools, school-houses and teachers for Colored Children in the District of Columbia, including the City of Washington.

July 18. President Lincoln, in his general reply "To whom it may concern" (occasioned by the proposal of Mr. Horace Greeley, in behalf of certain pretended Confederate agents in Canada), made "the abandonment of Slavery" a necessary condition of negotiations.

Dec. 6. SALMON P. CHASE, of Ohio, appointed by the President CHIEF-JUSTICE of the Supreme Court of the United States: to take the place of Roger B. Taney, author of the Dred Scott decision, deceased in October last.

1865.

Jan. 11. MISSOURI, by her Legislature, decreed Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation throughout the State. On the 14th, Gov. Fletcher issued his Proclamation declaring Missouri a Free State.

.. .. Gov. Cannon of Delaware in his annual Message strongly urges the Legislature to make the State free.

.. 13. TENNESSEE joins the ranks of the Free States, her Convention, *by a unanimous vote*, adopting as provisions of her new Constitution, that Slavery is abolished and prohibited; and the Legislature shall make no laws recognizing property in man. ANDREW JOHNSON, then Military Governor of the State, addresses the Convention next day, warmly congratulating them on the downfall of Slavery in Tennessee.

.. 25. ILLINOIS, in her Senate, repeals her so-called "Black Laws."

.. 31. On this memorable day, the House of Representatives of Congress, by the requisite two-thirds vote, adopt the AMENDMENT to the United States Constitution, abolishing Slavery throughout the Union and prohibiting it forever. The U. S. Senate had adopted the same in April last, by a vote of 38 yeas to 6 nays. The vote in the House stood 119 to 56; 55 of those voting in favor of Slavery being (so-called) "Democrats." What an abuse and outrage on language and reason! The Amendment now awaits the Ratification of three-fourths of the States. Eighteen States have already ratified it. The vote of five others is morally certain, so soon as their Legislatures assemble; and others will shortly be had, enough to secure the adoption.

And here, for the present, our Chronological table may stop; though we might fitly have recorded the action of Congress making free the Wives and Children of all Colored Soldiers—and providing that *color* shall be no disqualification (as heretofore) in the carrying of the United States Mails. We might also record the admission of Colored Lawyers to practice in the United States Supreme Court; also the Establishment of the Freedman's Bureau, as an office in the government.

We have thus succinctly recorded the Anti Slavery Acts and Events which will ever distinguish and illustrate the Administration of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the Wise, the Just, the Good President. Alas! that we must close with recording, also, his *death!* laid low by an assassin's bullet, in the midst of his term of office, and at the height of his honor and services. A Nation's blessings follow him into the Unseen World, and will forever consecrate his memory.

S. M., JR.

NEW MUSIC.—We have received from Horace Waters, 481 Broadway, the following pieces of Music just published by him:

"Famous Oil Firms"; a Serio-Comic Ballad. Words bored for near Oil Creek, by F. Pluribus Oilum. Music composed by Petroleana.

"We are Marching on to Victory." Words by Vickie Spencer. Music by Carl Herman.

"Irene: Polka Pathetique" for the Piano. By Conrad Treuer.

"A Gloom is cast o'er all the Land." Song and Chorus, to the Memory of President Lincoln. Words and Music by Henry Schrœder.

DO NOT WASTE YOUR MONEY buying any of the numerous worthless articles called Gold Pens which have flooded the market for the last few years, when at lower prices you can get pens which are acknowledged to be the BEST IN THE WORLD.

Avoid the shameless Upstarts whose lack of brains compels them to attempt IMITATION, *even to the advertisement*. If you want the full value of your money, call on A. Morton, 25 Maiden Lane, or inclose stamps for circular.

WE did not believe in "cure-alls" until we tried AYER'S inimitable pills, and now we think the whole secret lies in the fact, that purgatives are the natural remedy for disease, and Dr. Ayer has made the best of purgatives. They cure all our complaints.—*Logan (O.) Press.*

DIED.

MAY.—In Syracuse, on the 8th inst., LUCRETIA FLAGG, wife of the Rev. Samuel J. May.

From a Syracuse paper.

THE DEATH OF MRS. MAY.—Our citizens will hear with infinite regret of the sudden death of the wife of the Rev. Samuel J. May. For a long period an almost permanent state of ill-health had compelled her to forego, in a great measure, the enjoyment of society, but in the earlier years of her residence in this city her kindness of heart and affable manners endeared her to a large circle of friends. On the first of June, had she lived to that day, she would have completed the fortieth year of her married life. To her husband, whose lofty philanthropy and noble efforts in the cause of humanity have gained him a high fame not only in this country but abroad, the sympathies of his fellow-citizens of Syracuse will be generously extended.

Summary.

A Mr. Randall, of Providence, Rhode Island, has made a design for a monument to Roger Williams, the founder of the State, and has deposited in one of the Providence Institutions for savings $1,000, to remain on interest until the accumulated fund is sufficient to meet the estimated cost of the monument.

A rebel Col. Clark asserts, with how much or how little of truth we cannot say, that during the great hurry and immense excitement attendant on the flight of the rebels from Richmond, the train carrying Jeff. Davis's stolen specie broke down, when a desperate scramble for the precious stuff took place among the surrounding citizens and soldiers, who broke open the kegs in which it was packed and secured the whole of it.

The table upon which the Declaration of Independence was signed is now in the possession of an aged maiden lady named Ramsey, at Charleston, S. C. Efforts were made to induce her to supply this table for the signing of the South Carolina Ordinance of Secession, but she steadfastly refused, and at length threatened to shoot any one who would attempt to take it away.

THE LIBBY PRISON SIGN.—Adams's Express Company to-day brought from Richmond the Libby Prison sign, which has been taken down and forwarded here for safe keeping. The sign, a plain unornamented board, was nailed up against the end of the prison building, and bears the inscription, "L. LIBBY & SON, Ship Chandlers." What use is to be made of this relic is not stated.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

Special Notices.

THE THIRTEENTH YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS will be held at LONGWOOD (near Hamorton), Chester Co., Pa., commencing at 11 o'clock, a.m., on Fifth day (Thursday), the 8th of Sixth month (June), 1865, and continuing, probably, three days.

To this meeting, as usual, are invited all persons who feel attracted to a Religious Society which sets up no theological condition of membership, and neither demands nor expects uniformity of doctrinal belief; which has no ritual, discipline, or priesthood; which recognizes a Divine revelation in the unperverted instincts of the human soul, and the duty of every one to keep his mind and heart open at all times to receive the truth and follow its guidance; and which finds its bond of union in a common recognition of the brotherhood of the human race, and a common desire and purpose to labor diligently for the uprooting of every system of injustice, fraud and oppression, and the upholding of the kingdom of righteousness and peace throughout the world.

The wonderful history of our beloved country during the past year, as seen in the complete overthrow of the rebellion, the sentence of utter extermination pronounced against Slavery by the Government and the People, the dawn of peace after four years of retributive and bloody war, and the prospect of a speedy reunion of the States upon the principles enunciated by our fathers in the Declaration of Independence, will furnish cause for grateful exultation, and at the same time afford encouragement to do our share in the work of national reconstruction and regeneration.

Oliver Johnson,	Rachel Wilson,
Annie M. Stambach,	Eusebius Barnard,
Benjamin C. Bacon,	Mary Ann Fulton,
Susanna P. Chambers,	Alfred H. Love,
Theodore Tilton,	Lucretia Naylor,
Annis F. Kent,	J. William Cox,
Carroll Dunham,	Jennie K. Smith,
Anna E. Dickinson,	William Lloyd.

Among those whose presence is confidently anticipated are George Thompson of England, William Lloyd Garrison and Aaron M. Powell.

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—The Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress will be held at the usual place near Waterloo, on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, 2d, 3d and 4th days of June next.

As on previous occasions we extend our invitations broadly—to all who are in the fellowship of Truth, and all who seek to know this possession, to come and join with us in our annual convocation.

The genuine communions are of the spirit and baptisms of strength and quickening come from the mingling of heart with heart and soul with soul in devotion to the great purposes of living. Let us unite that we may encourage and incite each other and gather reënforcements in vigor and resolve.

CHARLES D. B. MILLS, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AARON M. POWELL, GILES B. STEBBINS, GEO. W. TAYLOR, and other gifted speakers from abroad, will be present to participate, and lend interest to the occasion.

Communications for the meeting should be addressed to Phebe B. Dean, Waterloo, N. Y.

Phebe B. Dean,	Amy Post,
Israel Lisk,	Henry Bonnel,
Stephen Shear,	Hugh D. Thorn,
Mary Doty,	William Barnes,
	Committee of Arrangements.

Waterloo, N. Y., April, 1865.

CIRCULAR.—Arrangements having been perfected for bringing some of the freed people to this city, persons in want of help are notified to make application to our agent, JANE BOUSTEAD, 1605 North St. (below Coates above Sixteenth St).

This agency is established by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society with the aid and coöperation of the Pennsylvania and both Friends Freedmen's Associations of this city.

To prevent disappointment we would state that many of these people have little or no acquaintance with housework, and are apt to be slow, though mostly of good dispositions and willing to learn.

A number of them are women with children, whom it is desirable to locate near each other. Farmers or others able to accomodate such are desired to forward their applications. Few if any men can be had.

If the servants prove unsatisfactory, the Committee decline having them returned to the agency, but when notified thereof will co-operate in finding other suitable places for them. Any change of residence should also be notified to our agent.

To aid in the payment of expenses a charge of one dollar each will be made to parties taking them.

JOS. M. TRUMAN, JR., MARCELLUS BALDERSTON,
H. RYLAND WARRINER, LUKENS WEBSTER,
Committee on Employment, Penn. Abolition Society.

Philadelphia, 3d mo., 1865.

JANE BOUSTEAD, Agent,
1605 North st. (below Coates above Sixteenth), to whom all communications should be addressed.

Office hours—9 a.m. to 4 p.m.

N. B.—A number are expected on 6th day (Friday) evening, 3d mo. 31st, after which they will arrive on 3d day (Tuesday) afternoon of each week.

WHEELER AND WILSON'S SEWING MACHINES.—Woman's Greatest Boon.—We would advise a man to forego a thresher and thresh wheat with a flail rather than to see the wife wear her health, vigor and life away in the everlasting "stitch, stitch, stitch," when a sewing machine can be obtained. The Wheeler and Wilson is an invaluable aid in every household. We have had several different kinds on trial, and after six years' service the Wheeler and Wilson has taken the precedence as the best, where all kinds of sewing are to be done in a family.—*American Agriculturist, January*, 1865. 40—tf

Advertisements.

AYER'S SARSAPARILLA

Is a concentrated extract of the choice root, so combined with other substances of still greater alterative power as to afford an effectual antidote for diseases. Sarsaparilla is reputed to cure. Such a remedy is surely wanted by those who suffer from Strumous complaints, and that one which will accomplish their cure must prove, as this has, o immense service to this large class o our afflicted fellow-citizens. How completely this compound will do it has been proven by experiment on many o the worst cases to be found in the following complaints.

Scrofula, Scrofulous Swellings and Sores, Skin Diseases, Pimples, Pustules, Blotches, Eruptions, St. Anthony's Fire, Rose or Erysipelas, Tetter or Salt Rheum, Scald Head Ringworm, etc.

Syphilis or Venerial Disease is expelled from the system by the prolonged use of this SARSAPARILLA, and the patient is left in tom par ative health.

Female Diseases are caused by Scrofula in the blood, and are often soon cured by this EXTRACT OF SARSAPARILLA.

Do not discard this invaluable medicine, because you have been imposed upon by something pretending to be Sarsaparilla, while it was not. When you have used AYER'S—then, and not till then, will you know the virtues of Sarsaparilla. For minute particulars of the diseases it cures, we refer you to Ayer's American Almanac, which the agent below named will furnish gratis to all who call for it.

AYER'S CATHARTIC PILLS, for the cure of Costiveness, Jaundice, Dyspepsia, Indigestion, Dysentery, Foul Stomach, Headache, Piles, Rheumatism, Heartburn arising from Disordered Stomach, Pain, or Morbid Inaction of the Bowels, Flatulency, Loss of Appetite, Liver Complaint, Dropsy, Worms, Gout, Neuralgia, and for a Dinner Pill. They are sugar coated, so that the most sensitive can take them pleasantly, and they are the best Aperient in the world for all the purposes of a family physic.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all Druggists and Dealers in medicines everywhere 47—2mo.

A MAN OF A THOUSAND.

A CONSUMPTIVE CURED.

DR. H. JAMES, a retired physician of great eminence, discovered, while in the East Indies, a certain cure for Consumption, Asthma, Bronchitis, Coughs, Colds and General Debility. The remedy was discovered by him when his only child, a daughter, was given up to die. His child was cured, and is now alive and well. Desirous of benefiting his fellow-morials, he will send to those who wish it the recipe, containing full directions for making and successfully using this remedy, free, on receipt of their names, with two stamps to pay expenses. There is not a single symptom of Consumption that it does not at once take hold of and dissipate. Night sweats, peevishness, irritation of the nerves, failure of memory, difficult expectoration, sharp pains in the lungs, sore throat, chilly sensations, nausea at the stomach, inaction of the bowels, wasting away of the muscles.

☞ The writer will please state the name of the paper they see this advertisement in. Address

CHADDOCK & CO.,
35—13t. 1032 Race street, Philadelphia, Penn

HEATING AND COOKING BY GAS

Cheaper than wood or coal.

Eagle Gas Heating Stoves, positively guaranteed to be free from smoke or smell. Will heat offices, parlor, dining, sleeping and bath rooms. Also Eagle Gas Cooking Stoves and Ranges will boil, broil, roast, toast, bake, stew, fry, heat irons, etc., etc.

The Eagle Gas Stoves and Ranges have been in use for over three years, and are found to be the most simple, complete and perfect arrangement for heating and cooking, in every respect, ever invented, and to do the work with less trouble, in less time, and at less expense than any coal or wood stove.

Their wonderful neatness, convenience and economy can be seen at a glance.

We also manufacture Coal Oil Stoves for cooking and heating. Send for descriptive catalogues.

EAGLE GAS STOVE MANUFACTURING COMPANY,
474 Broadway, New York.

The American Advertising Agency, 389 Broadway, New York. (Business Department—E. ALVORD, Cor.—at FOWLER AND WELLS'S) receive orders. 40—tf

MUSIC AND THE ENGLISH BRANCHES.—SITUATION WANTED.—A young lady of this city—who has had experience and can furnish excellent references—would like a situation where she may give instruction in Music and the English Branches. For address—No. 13 Cottage Place. 47—

PUTNAM'S CLOTHES WRINGER

IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE
SELF-ADJUSTING WRINGER.

No Wood-work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the *best* Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $3 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ.:

That Iron well galvanized *will not rust*.
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting, durable and efficient*.
That thumb screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink*, and *split*.
That wood-bearings for the shaft to run in *will wear out*.
That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes*.
That cog-wheel regulators are not essential.
That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadvantages above named.
That all who have tried it pronounce it the *best* Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration*.

We might fill the paper with testimonials, but insert only a few to convince the skeptical, if such there be; and we say to all, *test* Putnam's Wringer. Test it *thoroughly* with any and all others, and if not entirely satisfactory, return it.

PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.—Gentlemen: I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxydise or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.
Respectfully yours, JOHN W. WHEELER, Cleveland, O.

Many years experience in the galvanising business enables me to indorse the above statement in *all particulars*.
JOHN C. LEVERETT, No. 100 Beekman Street.

NEW YORK, January, 1864.—We have tested Putnam's Clothes Wringer by practical working, and know that it will do. It is cheap; it is simple; it requires no room, whether at work or at rest; a child can operate it; it does its duty thoroughly; it saves time, and it saves wear and tear. We earnestly advise all who have much washing to do, with all intelligent persons who have any, to buy this Wringer. It will pay for itself in a year at most.
HORACE GREELEY.

PRICES, $8, $9, and $10.
A sample Wringers sent, express paid, on receipt of price.

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

BY CAROLINE A. MASON.

VAIN, in vain, O spirit tender!
All the pageant and the splendor,
All the praises that we render;

Yet they give, in their poor fashion,
Hint of grief beyond expression,
Speechless, by its own confession.

Oh, sweet life! complete and rounded,
By no selfish schism bounded,
And of all good gifts compounded.

Gentle-hearted as a lover,
Firm to strike, yet weeping over
Guilt it irked him to discover;

Patient, honest, never masking
Wrong with Right; but rather, tasking
Heart and brain with simple asking,

"Wrong *or* Right?" Oh, martyr-spirit!
Who, thy mantle to inherit,
Who, of all thy peers, doth merit?

We are human; so, unquestioned,
So was he; but he seemed fashioned
Purer-eyed and sweeter-passioned.

Ah, earth was too gross to hold him!
Ah, too poor the guerdon doled him!
And the angels longed to fold him,—

Fold him from the coming trouble,
From the bursting of the bubble,
And for pain to give him double.

Maybe, from their heights elysian,
Looking down with clearer vision,
They could see his earthly mission

Ended with the lapse of Treason,
And his "Come now, let us reason,"
Maybe it was out of season.

So, with drooping wing, they waited
Till the wrath of man was sated,
Then the hero-soul translated

Far away, where never, never
Comes the curse of war, but ever
Peace flows onward like a river.

Thus, the darkest deeds discover
Hidden good, and blessings hover
Wrath of man and devils over.

Yet—so frail are we and human—
Yet we mourn him—man and woman,
Lord and peasant, friend and foeman.

Father! comfort Thou our aching,
Troubled hearts, and, for the taking,
Give Thyself! and ne'er forsaking,

Lead us on, Thy chosen Nation,
Even through this dread oblation,
Onward to Thy full salvation.

THE BURIAL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

THE REMAINS DEPOSITED IN OAK RIDGE CEMETERY AT SPRINGFIELD.

ON Thursday, May 4th, the body of Abraham Lincoln was deposited in the vault at Oak Ridge Cemetery, near Springfield, Ill., with appropriate ceremonies. An immense concourse of people assembled from all portions of Illinois and from other States, to take part in the funeral rites.

At noon twenty-one guns were fired, and afterward single guns at intervals of ten minutes. About noon the remains were taken from the State House and placed in the hearse, which was from St. Louis, and used at the funerals of Thomas H. Benton, General Lyon and Governor Gamble. The hearse was surmounted by a magnificent crown of flowers. Meanwhile a chorus of hundreds of voices, accompanied by a brass band, sang the hymn,

"Children of the heavenly King,
Let us journey as we sing,"

from the portico of the Capitol.

The funeral procession was under the immediate direction of Major-General Hooker, marshal-in-chief, Brigadier-General Cook and staff, and Brevet Brigadier-General Oakes and staff. The military and the firemen made a fine appearance. The guard of honor consisted of General Barnard, Rear-Admiral Davis, and Generals McCallum, Ramsay, Caldwell, Thomas, Howe, Townsend and Eakin, and Captain Field, of the Marine Corps. The relatives and family friends of the deceased were in carriages. Among them were Judge Davis, of the Supreme Court, the officiating clergyman, Bishop Simpson, Dr. Gurley, and others. In the procession were the Governors of six or seven States, members of Congress, with other officers, the State and municipal authorities and delegations from adjoining States. The long line of civilians was closed by the Free Masons, Odd Fellows and citizens at large, including colored persons. The hearse was immediately followed by the horse formerly belonging to Mr. Lincoln. Its body was covered with black cloth, trimmed with silver fringe. Never before was there so large a military and civic display in Springfield.

The procession arrived at Oak Ridge Cemetery at one o'clock. On the left of the vault in which the remains of the President and his son were deposited immediately on their arrival, was a platform on which singers and an instrumental band were in place, and these united in the chanting and singing of appropriate music, including a burial hymn by Mr. Lincoln's pastor, the Rev. Dr. Gurley. On the right was the speaker's stand, appropriately draped with mourning.

A short time ago a piece of property containing eight acres, and situated in the heart of the city, was purchased by the corporation for fifty-three thousand dollars. The ground is improved, with several substantial houses and trees and shrubbery. It was designed to render the site additionally beautiful and attractive, and to erect thereon a monument to the illustrious dead. A vault has been completed for the reception of the remains, but owing to the wishes of Mrs. Lincoln, the remains were deposited in Oak Ridge Cemetery, nearly two miles from the city. The vault at this place is erected at the foot of a knoll in a beautiful part of the grounds, which contains forest trees of all varieties. It has a doric gable resting on pilasters, the main wall being rustic. The vault is fifteen feet high and about the same in width, with semicircular wings of brick projecting from the hillsides. The material is limestone, procured at Joliet, Ill. Directly inside of the ponderous doors is an iron grating. The interior walls are covered with black velvet, dotted with evergreens. In the centre of the velvet is a foundation of brick, capped with a marble slab, on which the coffin rests. The front of the vault is trimmed with evergreens. The dead march in "Saul" was sung, accompanied by the band, as the remains were deposited. Thousands of persons were assembled at the cemetery before the arrival of the procession, occupying the succession of green hills. The scene was one of solemnly intense interest. The landscape was beautiful in the light of an unclouded sun.

The religious exercises were commenced by the singing of a dirge. Then followed the reading of appropriate portions of the Scriptures and a prayer. After a hymn by the choir, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard read the last inaugural of President Lincoln. Next a dirge was sung by the choir, when Bishop Simpson delivered the funeral oration. It was in the highest degree eloquent, and the patriotic portions of it were applauded. Then followed another hymn, when the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Dr. Gurley. The procession was then reformed and returned to the city.

BISHOP SIMPSON'S ORATION.

[Extracts.]

Near the capital of this large and growing State of Illinois, in the midst of this beautiful grove, and at the open mouth of the vault which has just received the remains of our fallen chieftain, we gather to pay a tribute of respect and drop the tears of sorrow around the ashes of the mighty dead. A little more than four years ago, from his plain and quiet home in yonder city, he started, receiving the parting words of the concourse of friends who gathered around him, and in the midst of the dropping of the gentle shower he told of the pains of parting from the place where his children had been born and his home had been made so pleasant by early recollections. And as he left he made an earnest request in the hearing of some who are present, that, as he was about to enter upon responsibilities which he believed to be greater than any which had fallen upon any man since the days of Washington, the people would offer up their prayers that God would aid and sustain him in the work they had given him to do. His company left your quiet city. But as it went snares were in waiting for the Chief Magistrate. Scarcely did he escape the dangers of the way or the hands of the assassin as he neared Washington, and I believe he escaped only through the vigilance of the officers and the prayers of the people; so that the blow was suspended for more than four years, which was at last permitted, through the providence of God, to fall. How different the occasion which witnessed his departure and that which witnessed his return! Doubtless you expected to take him by the hand, to feel the warm grasp which you felt in other days, and to see the tall form walking among you which you had delighted to honor in years past. But he was never permitted to return until he came with lips muto and silent, his frame encoffined, and a weeping nation following as his mourners. Such a scene as his return to you was never witnessed among the events of history. There have been great processions of mourners. There was one for the patriarch Jacob, which came up from Egypt, and the Egyptians wondered at the evidences of reverence and filial affection which came from the hearts of the Israelites. There was mourning when Moses fell upon the heights of Pisgah and was hid from human view. There have been mournings in the kingdoms of the earth when kings and warriors have fallen; but never was there in the history of man such mourning as that which has accompanied the funeral procession and has gathered around the mortal remains of him who was our loved one, and who now sleeps among us. If we glance at the procession which followed him we see how the nation stood aghast. Tears filled the eyes of many sunburned faces. Strong men, as they clasped the hands of their friends, were unable to find vent for their grief in words. Women and little children caught up the tidings as they ran through the land and were melted into tears. The nation stood still. Men left their plows in the fields and asked what the end would be. The hum of manufactures ceased and the sound of the hammer was not heard. Busy merchants closed their doors, and in the exchange gold passed no more from hand to hand. Three weeks have passed. The nation has scarcely breathed easily yet. A mournful silence is abroad upon the land. Nor is this mourning confined to any class or to any district of the country. Men of all political parties and of all religious creeds seem united in paying this mournful tribute. The Archbishop of the Roman Catholic church in New York and a Protestant minister walked side by side in the sad procession, and a Jewish Rabbi performed a part of the solemn service. There are gathered around his tomb representatives of the army and navy, senators, judges, governors and officers of all the branches of the government and members of all the civic associations, with men and women from the humblest as well as the highest occupations. Here and there, too, are tears, as sincere and warm as any that drop, which come from the eyes of those whose kindred and whose race have been freed from their chains by him whom they mourn as their deliverer. Far more have gazed on the face of the departed than ever looked upon the face of any other departed man. More eyes have looked upon the procession for sixteen hundred miles or more by night and by day, by sunlight, dawn, twilight and by torchlight than ever before watched the progress of a procession.

* * * * * * * *

The great cause of this mourning is to be found in the man himself. Mr. Lincoln was no ordinary man, and I believe the conviction has been growing on the nation's mind, as it certainly has been on my own, especially in the last years of his administration, that, by the hand of God, he was especially singled out to guide our government in these troublous times; and it seems to me that the hand of God may be traced in many of the events connected with his history. First, then, I recognize that in his physical education, which he received and which prepared him for enduring Herculean labors in the toils of his boyhood and the labors of his manhood, God was giving him an iron form. Next to this was his identification with the heart of the great people—understanding their feelings because he was one of them, and connected with them in their movements and life. His education was simple; a few months spent in the school house gave him the elements of education. He read few books, but mastered all he read. "Bunyan's Progress," and the "Life of Washington" were his favorites. In these we recognize the works which gave the bias to his character and which partly moulded his style. His early life with its varied struggles joined him indissolubly to the weeping masses, and no elevation in society diminished his respect for the sons of toil. He knew what it was to fell the tall trees of the forest and to stem the current of the swift Mississippi. His home was in the growing West, the heart of the republic; and, invigorated by the wind which swept over its groves, he learned the lesson of self-reliance which sustained him in seasons of adversity. His genius was soon recognized, as true genius always will be. He was placed in the Legislature of a State. Already acquainted with the principles of law, he devoted his thoughts to matters of public interest, and began to be looked on as the coming statesman. As early as 1849 he presented resolutions in the Legislature asking for emancipation in the District of Columbia, although, with rare exceptions, the whole popular mind of his State was opposed to the measure. From that hour he was a steady and uniform friend of humanity, and was preparing for the conflict of later years. If you ask on what mental characteristics his greatness rested, I answer on a quick and ready perception of facts, and a memory unusually tenacious and retentive, and on a logical turn of mind which followed steadily and unwaveringly every link in the chain of thought on any subject which he was called on to investigate. I think there have been minds more decided in their character, more comprehensive in their scope, but I doubt if there has been a man who could follow step by step with logical power the points which he desired to illustrate. He gained the power by the close study of geometry and by a determination to persevere in truth. It is said of him that in childhood, when he had any difficulty in listening to a conversation to ascertain what people meant, if he retired to rest he could not sleep till he tried to understand the precise points intended, and when understood to convey it in a clearer manner to those who had listened with him. Who that has read his messages fails to perceive the directness and the simplicity of his style; and this very trait, which was scoffed at and derided by his opposers, is now recognized as one of the strong points of that mighty mind which has so powerfully influenced the destiny of the nation, and which shall for ages to come influence the destiny of humanity. It is not, however, chiefly by his mental faculties that he gained such a control over mankind. His moral power gave him prominence. The convictions of men that Abraham Lincoln was an honest man led them to yield to his guidance. As has been said of Cobden, whom he greatly respected, he made all men feel and own the sense of himself, and recognize in him, individually, a self-relying power. They saw in him a man who they believed would do that which was right, regardless of all consequences. It was this moral feeling which gave him the greatest hold on the people, and made his utterances almost oracular.

* * * * * *

The great act of the mighty chieftain, on which his fame shall rest long after his frame shall moulder away, is that of giving freedom to a race. We have all been taught to revere the sacred character of Moses, his power, and the prominence he gave to the moral law. How it lasts, and how his name towers among the names in Heaven, and how he delivered three millions of his kindred out of bondage; and yet we may assert that Abraham Lincoln, by his proclamation, liberated more enslaved people than ever Moses set free, and these not of his kindred or of his race. Such a power, or such an opportunity, God has seldom given to man. When other events shall have been forgotten, when this world shall have become a network of republics, when every throne shall have been swept from the face of the earth, when literature shall enlighten all minds, when the claims of humanity shall be recognized everywhere, this act shall be conspicuous on the still pages of history, and we are thankful that God gave to Abraham Lincoln the decision, wisdom and grace to issue that proclamation which stands high above all other papers which have been penned by uninspired men (applause). Abraham Lincoln was a good man. He was known as an honest, temperate, forgiving man, a just man, a man of noble heart in every way. As to his religious experience, I cannot speak definitely, because I was not privileged to know much of his private sentiments. My acquaintance with him did not give me the opportunity to hear him speak on this topic. I know, however, he read the Bible frequently; loved it for its great truths and for its profound teachings, and he tried to be guided by its precepts. He believed in Christ, the Savior of sinners, and I think he was sincerely trying to bring his life into the principles of revealed religion. Certainly if ever there was a man who illustrated some of the principles of pure religion, that man was our departed President. Look over all his speeches; listen to his utterances. He never spoke unkindly of any man; even the rebels received no words of anger from him; and the last day illustrated in a remarkable manner his forgiving disposition. A dispatch was received that afternoon that Thompson and Tucker were trying to make their escape through Maine, and it was proposed to arrest them. Mr. Lincoln, however, preferred rather to let them quietly escape, and this morning we read the proclamation offering $25,000 for the arrest of these men, as aiders and abettors of his assassination. So that in his expiring acts he was saying "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do!" As a rule I doubt if any President has ever shown such trust in God, or in public documents so frequently referred to Divine aid. Often did he remark to friends and to delegations that his hope for our success rested in his conviction that God would bless our efforts because we were trying to do right. To the address of a large religious body he replied, "Thanks be unto God, who, in our national trials, giveth us the churches." To a minister who said he hoped the Lord was on our side, he replied that it gave him no concern whether the Lord was on our side or not, for, be added, "I know that the Lord is always on the side of the right," and, with deep feeling, added, "But God is my witness that it is my constant anxiety and prayer that both myself and this nation should be on the Lord's side." In his domestic life he was exceedingly kind and affectionate. He was a devoted husband and father. During his Presidential term he lost his second son, Willie. To an officer of the army he said not long since, "Do you ever find yourself talking with the dead?" and added, "Since Willie's death I catch myself every day involuntarily talking with him, as if he were with me." On his widow, who is unable to be here, I need only invoke the blessing of Almighty God that she may be comforted and sustained. For his son, who has witnessed the exercises of this hour, all that I can desire is that the mantle of his father may fall upon him (exclamations of "Amen"). Let us pause a moment in the lesson of the hour before we part. This man, though he fell by the hand of the assassin, still he fell under the permissive hand of God. He had some wise purpose in allowing him so to fall. What more could he have desired of life for himself? Were not his honors full? There was no office to which he could aspire. The popular heart clung around him as around no other man. The nations of the world have learned to honor him. If rumors of a desired alliance with England be true, Napoleon trembled when he heard of the fall of Richmond, and asked what nation would join him to protect him against our government. Besides the goodness of such a man his fame was full, his work was done, and he sealed his glory by becoming the nation's great martyr for liberty. He appears to have had a strange presentiment early in political life that some day he would be President. You see it, indeed, in 1839. Of the Slave Power he said: "Broken by it? I, too, may be asked to bow to it. I never will. The probability that we may fail in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause which I deem to be just. It shall not deter me. If I ever feel the soul within me elevate and expand to those dimensions not wholly unworthy of its Almighty Architect, it is when I contemplate the cause of my country, deserted by all the world besides, and I standing up boldly and alone and hurling defiance at her vicarious oppressors. Here, without contemplating consequences, before high Heaven and in the face of the world, I swear eternal fidelity to the just cause, as I deem it, of the land of my life, my liberty and my love." And yet secretly he said to more than one, "I shall never live out the four years of my term. When the rebellion is crushed my work is done." So it was. He lived to see the last battle fought and to dictate a dispatch from the home of Jefferson Davis. Lived till the power of the rebellion was broken; and then, having done the work for which God had sent him, angels, I trust, were sent to shield him from one moment of pain or suffering, and to bear him from this world to that high and glorious realm where the patriot and the good shall live forever. His example teaches young men that every position of eminence is open before the diligent and the worthy, to the active men of the country. His example urges the country to trust in God and do right. Standing as we do to-day by his coffin and his sepulchre, let us resolve to carry out the policy which he so nobly and wholly began. Let us do right to all men. Let us vow in the sight of Heaven to eradicate every vestige of human slavery, to give every human being his true position before God and man, to crush every form of rebellion, and to stand by the flag which God has given us. How joyful we ought to be that it floated over parts of every State before Mr. Lincoln's career was ended. How singular is the fact that the assassin's foot was caught in the folds of the flag, and that to this we are indebted for his capture. The flag and the traitor must ever be enemies. The traitors will probably suffer by the change of rulers, for one of sterner mould, who himself has deeply suffered from the rebellion, now wields the sword of justice. Our country, too, is stronger for the trial through which it has passed. A republic was declared by monarchies too weak to endure a civil war, yet we have crushed the most gigantic rebellion in history, and have grown in strength and population every year of the struggle. We have passed through the ordeal of a popular election while swords and bayonets were in the field, and have come out unchanged; and now, in an hour of excitement, with a large minority who preferred another man for President, and the bullet of the assassin having laid our President prostrate, has there been a mutiny? has any rival opposed his claims? In an army of nearly a million of men, no officer or soldier has uttered one word of dissent, and in an hour or two after Mr. Lincoln's death another leader, with constitutional powers, occupied his chair, and the government moved forward without one single jar. The world will learn that republics are the strongest governments on earth. And now, my friends, in the words of the departed, "with malice towards none, free from all feeling of personal vengeance, yet believing the sword must not be drawn or borne in vain, let us go forward in our painful duty." Let every man who was a Senator or Representative in Congress, and who aided in beginning this rebellion, and thus led to the slaughter of our sons and daughters, be brought to speedy and to certain punishment. Let every officer educated at public expense, and who, having been advanced to position, has perjured himself and has turned his sword against the vitals of his country, be doomed to this. I believe in the will of the American people. Men may attempt to compromise, and to restore these traitors and murderers to society again; but the American people will arise in their majesty and sweep all such compromises and compromisers away, and shall declare that there shall be no peace to rebels; but to the deluded masses we shall extend the arms of forgiveness. We will take them to our hearts and walk with them side by side as we go forward to work out a glorious destiny. The time will come when, in the beautiful language of him whose lips are forever closed, "The mystic cords of memory, which stretch from every battle-field and from every patriot's grave, shall yield a sweeter music when touched by the angels of our better nature." To the ambitious there is the fearful lesson of the four candidates for Presidential honors in 1860. Two of them, Douglas and Lincoln, once competitors, but now sleeping patriots, rest from their labors; Bell perished in poverty and misery, as a traitor might perish, and Breckinridge is a frightened fugitive, with the brand of traitor on his brow. That will be vouched by the angels of our better nature (cries of "Good, good").

IN MEMORIAM.

SAMUEL LUCAS.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Allow me, moved by the spirit of international love, to put up to-day in your columns a Votive Tablet to the memory of Samuel Lucas, who passed away last Sunday, and gave some of the fire of his dying heart to Liberty and to America.

The manager and administrator of the *Morning Star* newspaper, you will understand that it would be ungrateful to the United States if no friend of this man were to claim the sympathies of your people loyal to Freedom and the Republic, for a name and deeds so full of quiet righteousness, and so affectionately identified with that cause for which you have almost given the blood of your National life.

He was with you up to last Sunday in all your trials, following every event with hearty solicitude, and yet with an unswerving faith; almost alone in his steady vision of the end, the beginning of which he just lived to see. Ever since the commencement of the War of Liberty, his silent, cheery will, his simple sight of good, his daily and nightly industry, his administrative mind, have stood in the *Morning Star*, and a spiritual power truly supra-national, have given forth to the anxious millions here the passing issues of the struggle: the truth of fact, and the truth of hope; and have rebuked a journalism which otherwise had perverted well nigh the entire mind of England. He lived to know that in very deed, the despised and rejected *Morning Star* was all right about America, and that the great *Times* was all wrong: he knew it without acerbity, because he belonged to the mission of love, which is sorry for the leaders of bad causes, and more than forgives them in their doom. A Quaker by birth, he inherited into the Spirit, and into a quietude beyond present things, and was an example and a prophecy of that new order of man who cares less to have a career than to have a mission; who has a spirit instead of an ambition; and works upon the world with a force that is never foiled, because it can never be encountered by the resistance of the merely natural politician.

To those who knew this gentleman personally, his presence was one of cheer, singleness, purity, a will that waited with the pressure of patience till his friends could receive his condition; he was a mild strength which is stronger, and will be stronger, now he is dead. His intellect, remarkable for impartiality where his vision went, came out of this clear, spiritual temper, and guided those who, for lack of his standpoint, were perplexed by the confusion of events, and the clash of superficial opinions. His atmosphere was of love.

When I visited him medically on Saturday morning last, the great news had arrived; and I said to him: "Well, dear friend, Richmond has fallen," and he rejoined with a noble smile: "I wish Cobden had lived to know it." His wife standing by, and to whom I had just been talking in the same strain down stairs, rejoined: "The Doctor says he *does live to know it.*" "Does he?" said he, with his bright childlike curiosity, as though he was willing to know more of that matter by and by. He died on Easter Sunday, "very early in the morning," just a fortnight after his dear friend Richard Cobden.

He leaves a widow, the sister of John Bright, to know his loss, and to cherish his spirit. Men and women of America, keep his heart among you, for he belonged to New England, and to New America, and the world has more love in it because he lived in it. Thank God for him.

J. J. GARTH WILKINSON.

No. 76 Winpole street, London, England, April 29, 1865.

*THE AMERICANS AT HOME.**

From "the [London] Day of Rest."

A STRANGE feeling is experienced by the Englishman, who, for the first time, lands upon the shores of the United States. The sense of novelty is mingled with a feeling of pride at the material greatness which the young republic, whose past is so easily bridged over, has already achieved. On the teeming quays of New York or Boston, in the palatial structures of Broadway and State street, in the great cities which, within the memory of the present generation, have sprung out of the swamps and prairies of the far west, he sees everywhere the evidences of Anglo-Saxon enterprise, and is naturally exultant at the spectacle. This, although the words of Campbell have in them the ring of truth:

For here the exile met from every clime,
And spoke in friendship ev'ry distant tongue;
Men, from the blood of warring Europe sprung,
Were but divided by the running brook.

Germans and Poles, Swedes and Danes form no inconsiderable element in the population. They have their cafés and hotels, their churches and newspapers; they are even gathered together in settlements and colonies, where they struggle to maintain something like an independent existence, and to perpetuate their national habits and modes of thought. But they are soon compelled to acquire the English—or, as a recent Transatlantic writer amusingly calls it—"the American" language, and to be indoctrinated with English ideas. The result is, that whatever the original emigrants may have been, their children have their nationality stamped out of them, and become as much Americans as the descendants of the Huguenots, who may still be traced in the attics of Spitalfields, or among the merchant princes of Dublin, are Englishmen or Irishmen. But why return to our own country for an illustration of the process of absorption which is continually going on in America? The honest Dutch settlers of the State of New York furnish us with the example we want. When Hendrik Hudson, who, although an English navigator, was employed by the Dutch government, discovered the beautiful river which bears his name; and when a host of enterprising mynheers settled the island of Manhattan, and laid the foundations of that great city of New York, which they—with characteristic veneration for their own commercial metropolis—called New Amsterdam, they no doubt thought that the Dutch name and lineage would always predominate in those regions of the new world. If the old Rip Van Winkles, who were buried in the ancient cemeteries of Manhattan, or on the banks of that noble stream, which both nature and tradition have combined to make more classic than the Mississippi will ever be, could only emerge from their grassy resting-places, and open those eyes, that have been so long closed in death, how amazed they would feel not only at the non-fulfilment of their cherished dreams, but at the wondrous scenes of activity and life, which would meet their view on every hand! They would discover some of the old names—Van Rensselaer's, Van Wyck's, and so forth; great names too, representing an amount of wealth and social influence of which few countries, besides our own, can boast. But they would see none of their descendants who possessed the square faces and broad shoulders of their progenitors, who came from the shores of the Zuyder Zee, or the low-lying banks of the Rotter. Here and there they would find signs of the old faith, in the shape of a few Dutch Reformed churches, but these completely overshadowed by colossal fabrics occupied by Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and men of many other creeds. The resuscitated Dutchmen would perhaps go back to their coffins, disgusted with the obliteration of the landmarks which they had raised, and the works which they thought were to endure; but if they were sensible men—as sensible as their countrymen who traffic on the bourse at Amsterdam, or carry their produce down the canals with which Holland is interlaced—they would feel proud at having contributed no unworthy share towards the realization of a future of which they could never have dreamed, while breathing their short breath of life, and playing their little part upon this world's stage. And, friend, may not you and I take heart of hope from the experience of their labors; and believe that if we rightly fulfil the destiny which God in His providence has marked out for us, great results may in time issue from the work which we accomplished day by day? The stream may continue to widen and widen, long after we have reached a happier shore. They were not the men of whom Tennyson, with lofty inspiration, has said that:

They take the rustic murmur of their bourg
For the great wave that echoes round the world.

Yet if, with a happy prescience of what was to come, they had done so, they would not have been far wrong.

But if, despite of continental emigration, the language of England has been made dominant throughout America, and is, apart from the slang which is the curse of every nation, talked pure from the sacred fount, the same remark may be as truthfully made of the social life of the country. I speak not so much of cities like New York, where wealth and extravagant habits have done much to vitiate the atmosphere, as of the country districts, and especially of New England, where the stern virtues of the Puritans have been tempered by modern education, and by every genial and humanizing influence. Hospitality has ever been regarded as a fair test of the character of a people. Where it exists among savage tribes, they stand out among their fellows, noble by contrast with the barbarism which kills the stranger or denies him food and shelter. Our Lord, in the parable of the good Samaritan, not only taught the duty of giving succor to the wayfarer who had fallen among thieves, but, as it seems to me, enforced the principle of opening house and home to the needy and distressed. How well this injunction is observed by our American kinsmen, every Englishman knows who has been privileged to sojourn amongst them. They ask not his pedigree; it is scarcely necessary that he should give his name. With genuine warmth and kindliness he is received, not as an inferior or a stranger, but as "a brother beloved." Such is my confidence in this characteristic of the American people, that I believe any one from "the old country" might become their guest for weeks and months, with no other recommendation than an honest face and an agreeable manner—only let him be careful not to return cordiality with stiffness, or to assume airs which are inconsistent with those notions of equality which have taken root on democratic soil. Many years ago, I lived in what was then the wilderness of Michigan. I resided for a time in a log hut on the borders of a forest, into whose tangled recesses I sometimes penetrated without ever finding an outlet. It took some time to get used to the absence of all bolts and locks, and still longer to feel quite safe when, in the dead of the night, one heard some one lift the latch, and seat himself by the wood fire in the room below; but the wayworn traveller only wanted to warm his feet and rest his limbs, and it was opposed to the primitive usages of the backwoods that he should be allowed to trudge along in rain or snow without a friendly roof to shelter him. Fenimore Cooper has not erred in combining with the roughness of border life the generous traits which soften down the less amiable features of his untutored heroes. And to pass from the neighborhood of the great lakes to the sylvan shades of the Hudson, it has always been a satisfaction to me to know that the American poet who resides in the charming retreat of Idlewild has chosen the village blacksmith for one of his bosom friends because he is an Englishman; that he supplies him with our magazines and newspapers, pays him a daily visit when he is at home, and receives him as an honored guest in the residence in which art and beauty so gracefully preside. These are not isolated facts—they belong to the genius of the people—they represent the bright side of a character which must be known to be appreciated—they mark an age which I trust we Englishmen have not outgrown, but which is scarcely so fresh and vigorous now as it was in the olden time.

This is equally true of our literature. Shakspeare and Milton belong to all nations and to all time, and therefore I will not mention them; but Scott and Wordsworth, Thackeray and Dickens take the same rank in America as in England. Our great novelist, who now lies cold and speechless in a cemetery which the presence of his ashes will make classic ground, might have made, if he had pleased, a triumphal progress through America; but although his modesty debarred him from those public honors to which he was so justly entitled, he was received with the homage due to a king of men. Every one, from the President downwards, bowed the knee to him, and that, too, in no cringing spirit, but with unaffected admiration and respect. Dickens, too, is a "household word"; every line he ever wrote—at least of his published novels—is familiar to every schoolboy in New England whose age enables him to appreciate the treasures of our glorious literature. But what shall I say of the Brownings? They are two poets who have not yet been honored in their own country as they deserve, partly, it must be admitted, because their genius is of too subtle an order for the common apprehension. But years and years ago, when these great poets were still only read by the select few on this side of the Atlantic, and when it was the fashion to decry them as obscure and hard to be understood, their works might be found on thousands of drawing-room tables in America—not admired for their ornamental bindings, but well thumbed and well read. The practical mind of Brother Jonathan had enough of poetry in it to discern the fact, that in the breasts of these two poets there glowed the true fire from heaven, and to fathom the mystic phrases which concealed from superficial readers the profoundest thoughts and the purest wisdom. When Elizabeth Barrett Browning died in Florence, her death, it is true, was noticed in a characteristic paragraph in the *Times*; but in America it evoked an expression of sorrow that was truly national in its earnestness and universality. Yet Mrs. Browning, like Longfellow, and Whittier, and every other true poet, had told the truth to the Americans on the subject of slavery, and had lashed "the peculiar institution" with a whip of scorpions. How much of the anti-slavery revival is due to her pen can never be known until the secret of all mysteries is unlocked; but that her heaven-inspired verse brought forth plenteous fruit, and that many a liberated slave has to thank her as a deliverer, who can doubt? They borrow our literature, while we borrow theirs; and what can be more elevating than such an interchange of ideas—a system of free trade in thought, by which both are alike the gainers without either sustaining any loss, save that which poor authors suffer from the want of of an international copyright? Would that with this latter boon for us knights of the quill we could also secure lower rates of ocean postage! A tax of a shilling upon every letter acts as a prohibitory duty upon correspondence; but when the Atlantic telegraph (which God speed!) is laid down and fairly at work, it will be as impossible for the magnates of the two national post-offices to charge twelvepence for a single letter, as it would be to revive the old system, to which Sir Rowland Hill gave the *coup de grace*.

The respect which the Americans pay to English genius is not withheld from their own men of letters. The prophet is not without honor in his own country. There is much of ignorance to be found in every State; but I am bound in justice to say that it has been chiefly nurtured on foreign soil, and cannot long exist in a land of free schools. A friend of mine once visited an institution of this description in the city of Providence, Rhode Island—a tight little State, ever to be associated with the name of Roger Williams. The first boy in the class which he examined was the son of an artisan; the second was the son of the governor of the State. Equals in the school and participators in the same advantages of education, who can deny that in a country where favor goes by merit, the poorer boy might hope to keep pace with his more prosperous rival in the race of life? When Millard Fillmore became President of the United States, his daughter was a school teacher in the State of New York, and went fresh from the tuition of her girls to the White House at Washington. And all the world knows that the factory lasses of Lowell are educated young ladies who support their lyceum, publish their magazine, and have a good deal of money to their credit in the local savings' banks. This brings me to another feature of the American character, which excited my hearty respect. I allude to the homage which is universally shown to the fair sex. It is true that it is somewhat exacting, and occasionally carried to excess. It is not always fair to the lords of creation that they should be reduced to the level of vassals and be compelled to submit to their fate with smiling faces. But there is a chivalric feeling at the bottom of this generous consideration for women which I should be sorry to see eliminated from the social usages of America. It makes men more faithful as lovers, more virtuous as husbands, more truly the helpmates of those whom God has given them as the companions of their joys and sorrows. Children, perhaps, as in France, have more freedom than is good for them; but a little laxity in parental discipline is, perhaps, better than too much sternness, for love is a stronger foundation for authority to rest upon than an iron rule. Our own children's *fêtes* and pleasure parties are the joy of an English household. Suffice it to say that in this respect also our kinsmen of the new world have adopted our customs, and that too in our own genial spirit.

The Americans have their faults—so have we; but I have spoken of this great and enterprising people as I found them. It is one misfortune of our insular position that we always see other communities at a distance, and that, thanks to party feeling and a temper as quick to resent as to forgive, their vices are magnified and their good qualities undervalued. But, in truth, the two great Protestant nations of the world, descended as they are from the same ancestors, and speaking as they do the same language, should learn a lesson of mutual tolerance and good will. The irritations of a day should not be allowed to grow into the hatred of a lifetime. The passions of the hour should die with the hour. "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath," is as applicable to nations as to individuals. Washington Irving has aptly expressed his countrymen's opinion of John Bull: as the picture is almost in every particular as true of them as it is of us I will conclude my remarks by reproducing it for the benefit of the reader: "With all his odd humors and obstinate prejudices he is a sterling-hearted old blade. He may not be so wonderfully fine a fellow as he thinks himself, but he is at least twice as good as his neighbors represent him. His virtues are all his own: all plain, home-bred, and unaffected. His very faults smack of the richness of his good qualities. His extravagance savors of his generosity; his quarrelsomeness, of his courage; his credulity, of his open faith; his vanity, of his pride; and his bluntness, of his sincerity. They are all the redundancies of a rich and liberal character. He is like his own oak, rough without, but sound and solid within; whose bark abounds with excrescences in proportion to the growth and grandeur of the timber, and whose branches make a fearful groaning and murmuring in the least storm, from their very magnitude and luxuriance."

* The writer of this article is understood to be Mr. Frederick W. Chesson, who needs no introduction to the readers of the STANDARD.

MRS. MARGARET FRANKS.

From the Evening Post.

A REMARKABLE woman of pure black race, Margaret, wife of Scipio Franks, died at Gowanus, L. I., on the 18th ult. She was about fifty years of age.

Peggy, as she was familiarly called, came to New York, about fourteen years ago from Newbern, North Carolina, having been left free by testament, with other slaves. Her mistress was a woman of good and kind heart. She left each of her "people" a piece of furniture as a memorial, but the white heirs took everything but the souls and bodies of the black ones. The only relic Peggy secured was a lock of her mistress's hair, which she wore round her neck and carried with her to the grave.

When Peggy came to New York she went industriously to work, and in less than two years saved enough money, with what Scipio himself had, to purchase his freedom. They then worked jointly, and in a few years bought a piece of land on the Gowanus hills, overlooking the bay and city, where they established their homestead, a small but neatly-kept frame cottage. They recently paid four hundred dollars assessment for opening a street near it.

Neither Scipio nor Peggy could read, but no two people kept themselves better informed about the slaveholders' rebellion than they, watching every turn of it with the most eager interest. They bought the daily papers and invited the neighbors in to read them. Peggy had a constant fear that the rebels would get less than they deserved. She prayed that the Lord would preserve the life of Jeff. Davis, "because," said she, "he is the best friend the colored people ever had. He is the soul of the rebellion. Take him away, or kill him, and things will fall right back into the old train." "When I remember what I have been obliged to see in the South, I feel as if I could go down there and slay men, women and children without mercy. May the Lord preserve Jeff. Davis to keep up the fight till the slaveholders are so whipped that they'll never crow again."

Peggy kept a flag in reserve, to be hung out "in the day of the real victory." She rejoiced over Gettysburg, Atlanta, and all the great Union successes, but declared that her flag should not float on the breeze "till slavery is dead and buried."

Peggy's Christmas dinners for her white friends, with whom she found shelter and sympathy on her first coming to the North, were a miracle of profuseness not often surpassed on richer tables. Roast turkey, flanked by other poultry, ham, cranberries, sweet potatoes, canned fruits, preserves, puddings, pies, and all the smaller dainties she could think of, and her own bright black face gleaming with smiles, made a scene worthy of any artist's brush. She made much of this yearly festival, but all through the year she sprinkled into the laps of her friends those little luxuries of the flower and fruit garden which her small patch of ground enabled her to produce.

Peggy sleeps in Greenwood at the feet of that long friend of her race, Isaac T. Hopper.

DELIGHTS OF RECTITUDE.—There is an exhileration, a hope, a joy, springing up within us when we *will* with power what we see to be good, when we are conscious of treading under foot the low principles and interests which would part us from God and Duty, when we sacrifice firmly and unreservedly selfish desires or the world's favor to the claims of Christian rectitude.

LILLIE'S CELEBRATED CHILLED WROUGHT IRON SAFES, wrought iron fire proof locks vault doors &c.

Lillie's Fire-proofs are manufactured to supply a demand for security against fire, less expensive than any celebrated and superior chilled and wrought iron burglar and fire proof safes.

They furnish similar and equal security to the Safe generally manufactured in the different cities, but are superior to them in their fire-proof qualities and durability, the iron being effectually protected from rust in any climate, and the fire-proof not subject to lose its utility by age. This is an important advantage gained to the purchaser, as safes often rust out and become worthless in two or three years.

To substantiate my position, those purchasing these Fire-proofs are at liberty, by giving me due notice of time and place of trial, to test them by fire with any other Safe of the same size; and should they not prove superior, I will refund the money, or a new Fire-proof, as the purchaser may decide.

LIST OF SIZES AND PRICES OF WROUGHT IRON FIRE PROOFS

No.	OUTSIDE. Height	Width	Depth	INSIDE. Height	Width	Depth	Price
6	40	31	27	31	21	15	$150
5	34	31	26	24	21	14	125
4	31	27	25	22	18	13	110
3	30	24	24	22	15	12	100
2	28	22	23	20	14	12	75
1	24	19	20	17	11	10	50

Sample of Fire-Proof Safe at office of the American Advertising Agency, 389